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WESTERN ATTITUDES TOWARD ISLAM *

IN choosing a subject for this address, I reviewed the topics selected by my predecessors and reached the conclusion that most of them had discoursed on their favorite subjects. Now it so happens that my favorite subject has to do primarily with the history of the day before yesterday, and in these stirring times a demand for a more timely topic is understandable. The modern world has far more serious worries than Mohammedanism. Indeed, we have long since ceased to regard Islam as a danger to our civilization. Therefore, we forget that for nearly a thousand years from the death of the Prophet in 632 to the collapse of the last Ottoman offensive before Vienna in 1683, Christendom, or at least important sections of it, was forced to deal with the menace of a hostile Islamic world. Those were significant formative years in the history of European civilization and the very nature of that civilization was in no small degree affected by the existence of Islam. Moreover, Islam is the only religion which, subsequent in time to Christianity, has taken from it large territories and inflicted upon it major military defeats. And in one important respect, the relations between the Christian and Mohammedan worlds have remained constant. From the beginning of Mohammedanism to our own day, Islam has proved surprisingly resistant to missionary efforts. Therefore, I venture to hope that in following the accepted custom of discoursing upon a topic primarily of interest to myself, I may be able to con-

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tribute from a study of past events some thoughts and ideas significant to a situation which is still with us.

My principal concern is not with Europe's great cultural debt to Islam in the recovery of the lost Hellenistic culture or with the constant and varied interactions of commerce. Such matters I shall assume to be sufficiently understood to need no further comment here. Rather my purpose is to examine the reactions of western Christendom to the presence of Islam, to explain if possible the measures devised to meet this ever present problem, and to show how those measures reflected the organic character of European society. Finally, it should also be added that I am concerned primarily, though not exclusively, with Christendom rather than Christianity. That is to say, it is not a body of doctrine which is of importance here, but a society, or, to use the words of Christopher Dawson, " that socio-religious unity we call Christendom ".[1]

Historically, the first reaction of Christendom to Islam was military. With the Muslim expansion across northern Africa and into Spain and France there began a persistent hostility which punctuated the diplomacy of the Mediterranean world for a thousand years. And it is important to remember that during most of that period Christendom was on the defensive. Thus the necessity for constant, if intermittent, defensive warfare against Islam came to be a fact of Christian European history. In the course of time, the long struggle came to be regarded in the west as a holy war or crusade.

Now the idea of a holy war was a distinct novelty to western Christian thought. For a long time the heroic ideal of the warrior and the Christian ideal of personal sanctity were regarded as two different things. St. Augustine and other Fathers had, it is true, recognized the necessity of the soldier's profession and the possibility of a just war. Notwithstanding, the military and the spiritual ideals remained separate and in a large measure incompatible. The scriptural " soldier of Christ " was interpreted in a purely spiritual sense. The good fight waged was against the supernatural powers of darkness. Historically, therefore, war was not always regarded as a function of Christian policy. But gradually this dualism disappeared, and with the fusion of the Nordic culture and the Christian ideal " military society was incorporated into the spiritual polity of western Christendom ". The manifestations of this fusion are familiar. It can be seen in Gregory of Tours' laudation of Clovis, or in Charlemagne's expansion of the frontiers of Christendom against the Saxons and others. Most notably, of course, it is found in the Crusades, where the Church blessed the war against the infidel, and in the institutions of chivalry with its ideal of the Christian knight.[2]

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[1] Christopher Dawson, *Medieval Religion* (New York, 1934), p. 3.

This transition from the earlier conception of spiritual combat with evil to the acceptance of physical warfare against the infidel as a positive good was a long and slow process. Considerable opposition developed and was voiced even as late as the eleventh century.[3] But the idea of a holy war against the infidel, blessed if not encouraged by the Church, gradually won acceptance. And clearly the principal external element in this process, the chief enemy menacing Christendom, was Islam. The culmination of the development came in the high Middle Ages when popes, following the lead of Urban II, proclaimed the plenary indulgence for the crusade, and when Gratian could say, with undoubtedly exaggerated emphasis: " Whoever dies in battle against the infidels is worthy to enter into the heavenly kingdom." [4]

The crusade represented a merging of religious and secular ideas characteristic of the age. Both the political reality and the conception of the state as an autonomous entity had long since ceased to exist. Instead, there had emerged that politico-religious society peculiar to the Middle Ages wherein the distinction between religious and secular authority was largely lost. If the response of such a society to the challenge of Islam was to be war, it must perforce be a holy war, because society was religious.

As a consequence, there is no question here of a just war waged by the state as the legitimate secular organ of society for a secular purpose. This is a holy war to be waged by a united Christendom primarily for a religious purpose and with the promise of religious rewards. It embodies a complete fusion of the secular and the religious.

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[2] Christopher Dawson, *The Making of Europe* (New York, 1932), p. 228; John Epstein, *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations* (Washington, 1935), pp. 65-81.

[3] Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935), especially chapters I and VIII.

[4] Quoted in Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

Equally characteristic of the age was the method by which this politico-religious society organized itself to combat the infidel. That is to say, the means taken to fight Islam reflected the inner organization of mediaeval society. In the early Middle Ages the leadership of predominance in Christendom had been lay. Kingly functions were held to include the protection of the Church, even the administration of its affairs. It was Charlemagne who was " the representative of God " and who in practice governed the Church. In those days the lay power took the lead in the war against Islam. Charles Martel and Charlemagne were followed by the nobles of France and Spain, by the Normans in Sicily, and by the Italian cities.[5]

Lay predominance persisted for some time, but it was not permanent. It was followed first by a period when there existed a sort of balance between the lay and ecclesiastical powers, and later by the temporal hegemony of the papacy. The early crusades against Islam, for example, seem to have developed as a kind of joint undertaking on the part of both secular and ecclesiastical authorities. It is true that Urban II at Clermont in 1095 appears to have seized the initiative. Notwithstanding, it has been pointed out that during the months preceding the council, and presumably as a result of a journey across southern France where the Cluny reform movement and the Spanish reconquest were thoroughly established, Urban's ideas broadened considerably. His original plan, which apparently embraced only assistance to Constantinople, was transformed into the conception of a large scale expedition. Moreover, there is good reason to believe that the extent and scope of the response to the Pope's speech far exceeded his expectations and plans. Thus it is possible to conceive of Urban's action as in no small degree an answer to a resurgent popular demand. Similarly, although the origin of the Second Crusade is also a controversial matter, it has been suggested that Eugenius III assumed responsibility after King Louis VII of France took the initiative.[6]

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[5] Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 219; H. X. Arquillière, *L'Augustinisme Politique* (Paris, 1934), chapter IV; A. Fliche, "Les origines de l'action de la Papauté en vue de la Croisade," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XXXIV (1940), 765-75.

In the first half of the thirteenth century, papal predominance in Christendom was well established and, with Innocent IV especially, had expanded to include an extraordinarily wide assertion of authority in temporal matters. This papal temporal supremacy or theocracy, as it has been called, which was exercised most successfully by Innocent III, although asserted more boldly by his successors, is a significant and unique development of the high Middle Ages. Adequately to analyse it here would be impossible. But among its many manifestations—indeed, for Innocent III or Gregory X, one might also say its *raison d'être*—was papal initiative in the crusade. For Innocent sought through the exercise of indirect political power, or what we today would call political pressure, to secure peace within Christendom. Peace was important for its own sake, but it was essential if Christendom was to defend itself successfully against the Mohammedans. Innocent's unflagging efforts in Spain as well as in the Levant, the activities, unfortunately ill-conceived, of the papal legate on the Fifth Crusade, the persistence of Gregory X—all these things testify to papal leadership. Nor does the conspicuous lack of success, or even the diversion of the effort to other projects, alter the fact of papal initiative. Therefore, at least with popes of the caliber of Innocent III and Gregory X, instead of insisting, as is so often done, that the popes launched the crusade in order to secure the leadership of Christendom, rather the reverse should be stated. Popes sought to dominate kings in order to guarantee the crusade.

Thus the Islamic problem exerted a profound influence on the character of Christian society in the high Middle Ages. As it had helped to fuse the warlike spirit with the Christian ideal, so it contributed in no small degree to the papal preponderance in temporal matters.

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[6] On Urban II cf. my "Some Recent Interpretations of Pope Urban II's Eastern Policy," *Catholic Historical Review,* XXV (1940), 459-66. On Eugenius III cf. H. Gleber, *Papst Eugen III (1145-53)* (Jena, 1936), chapters II, III.

During the later Middle Ages, particularly during the century or more after the death of Innocent IV in 1254, some notable changes took place in the character of mediaeval Christendom. It was a period when that organic unity under the Holy See was passing. Indeed, even before 1250, pious rulers like St. Louis IX of France and Henry III of England had declined to accept the full implications of papal temporal supremacy as enunciated by Innocent IV. With Philip IV resistance to papal temporal claims was open. Actual historical developments, therefore, such as the rise of national monarchies and the revived study of Roman law with its emphasis on the autonomous state, combined to produce a new type of society. The distinction between secular and religious authority was again coming to be recognized and was certainly pressed by the civil lawyers. In fact even the theologian, St. Thomas Aquinas, took a notably conservative view of the papal authority in temporal matters.[7] In short, in an increasingly laicized society papal theocracy was becoming obsolete.

Now it is noteworthy that with the decline of papal temporal influence the response to the crusade dwindled. Not that the crusade idea died entirely; for expeditions continued to set out and an impressive number of new projects, including economic blockades and the like, were proposed. Widespread criticism of papal crusade policy, particularly the diversion of crusade resources to the European concerns of the papacy, also testifies to continued interest.[8] With the persistent successes, first of the Mamluks and then of the Ottoman Turks, Christendom was not allowed to forget the Muslim danger. And yet, with the exception of Spain, the holy war against Islam failed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Papal efforts to arouse Christendom were frequently met with a discouraged apathy.

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[7] R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* (London and Edinburgh, 1928), V, 311, 316, 338, 353-4.

[8] Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: a Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940), ch. II; A. S. Attiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), p. 10 and *passim*.

The reasons for the failure of the holy war cannot adequately be discussed here. They are many and would carry us into the fields of politics, economics, and especially of public opinion. What particularly concerns this discussion is the idea that a society which was beginning to insist on a greater distinction between secular and ecclesiastical authority might quite naturally regard the crusade in very much the same light in which it viewed the papal theocracy. War was now a matter for the state. And although the crusades had increasingly fallen under lay control, they had originally been conceived not solely as the duty of the lay power, but as a religious war waged at the direction of the Church, in short, as a partly religious expression of a religio-political society. It has been said that the failure of the crusade brought the ruin of the papal temporal predominance.[9] Might it not perhaps also be argued that the failure of the papal attempt to organize Christendom and the attendant collapse of the holy war both resulted from the changed character of Christian society? At any rate by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Europe was coming to regard both as out of date.

A similar manifestation of an as yet imperfectly grasped, but gradually dawning consciousness of the distinction between the religious and secular functions of society, particularly with regard to the association of the Church with war, can be found in the mediaeval attitude toward converting the Muslims. In the first place it was not until the early thirteenth century, that is not until seven centuries after the death of Mohammed, that there was any determined attempt to convert Muslims. Further, the majority of the early missionary propagandists, like Humbert of Romans or Raymond Lull, regarded the crusade as an indispensable aid to their work.[10] As was remarked in a paper read before this association in 1938 it took considerable courage for St. Thomas Aquinas to repudiate the idea of forcible conversion.[11] In short the missionaries accepted the holy war and merely added a new method, peaceful persuasion, to the old idea of force. Furthermore, this attitude persisted. Prince Henry the Navigator, Columbus, and Albuquerque thought in terms of crusades and missions. And as late as the seventeenth century, Richelieu's "Grey Eminence", Father Joseph, proposed a fantastic combined crusade and missionary undertaking.[12]

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[9] Throop, *op. cit.*, pp. 3f., 289ff.

[10] *Ibid.*, ch. VII; Attiya, *op. cit.*, 76ff.

[11] Mathias Braun, "Missionary Problems in the Thirteenth Century: A Study in Missionary Preparation," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXV (1939), **157**.

Notwithstanding, there were a few missionaries who insisted on the incompatibility of the two methods, force and persuasion. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the Dominican, William of Tripoli, urged the abandonment of the crusade. That others held similar opinions seems evident from the pains taken by the crusade advocates to refute the pacifist ideal.[13] Therefore, we may say that this new method of attacking an old problem, the missions, reflected a society in transition. Old ideas were passing, the papal theocracy and the crusade. For the time being the latter could not be abandoned, and the new missionary ideal was ingrafted on the old. And yet it does not seem extravagant to state that those heroic pioneers, St. Francis of Assisi, Raymond Lull, St. Raymond Pennafort, and their devoted followers, began a movement which outlasted the crusade and was ultimately inconsistent with it. As Bréhier has expressed it, " for Europe of the fourteenth century the crusade was already a thing of the past; the future belonged to the missionaries. . . .[14]

The decline of the Turkish empire and the removal of the Muslim peril in the eighteenth century came at a time when Christendom was divided. It is difficult to speak of any attitude as common to Europe as a whole, unless it be an advancing secularism. Islam became a diplomatic problem and eventually a colonial problem. And the relations between states possessing Muslim subjects acquired an importance as great or greater than the relations of Europeans to Mohammedans. When, for example, an allied army captured Jerusalem in 1917, Mohammedans fought on both sides.

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[12] G. Goyau in Baron Descamps, *Histoire générale comparée des Missions* (Paris, 1932), p. 648.

[13] Throop, *op. cit.*, chapter V, pp. 162ff., 288.

[14] L. Bréhier, *L'Église et l'Orient au Moyen Age: Les Croisades* (Paris, 1928), p. 269.

Only a vestige of the older attitude survived in a somewhat antiquarian interest in the long struggle between the two civilizations. Past crusades continued to fascinate and bewilder historians. It was all very well for Voltaire in the century of the *philosophes* to scoff. Others wanted to know what had been the effect of the long war. And in 1807 the National Institute of France offered a prize for the best essay on the subject. Now I venture to suggest that the wording of the prize topic would have astonished Urban II or Innocent III. For those early nineteenth century pundits were concerned to discover " the influence of the Crusades upon the civil liberty of the peoples of Europe, upon their civilization, and upon the progress of knowledge, commerce, and industry."[15] " Civil liberty ", " progress ", " commerce "—these are still slogans to conjure with. But they reveal little preoccupation with Islam as a religion and culture competing with that of Europe.

Yet Islam is still a religion and a culture. And despite chronic division and the suppression of the caliphate in 1922, it is still a proselytizing religion competing with Christianity for the conversion of the pagan world. The mediaeval missionaries to the Muslims met with frustrations and martyrdom. Successes were few. The modern missionary faces an Islam of more than two hundred million adherents, who in spite of internal disagreements do not seem to be receptive to Christianity.[16]

But the future of missions to the Mohammedans is not the theme of this discussion. Here we have simply tried to show how important to Christendom was the very existence of Islam, how deeply it affected the organization and outlook of Christian society, and how only after centuries of warfare did the missionary idea germinate at all, or, in fact, were missions possible. One further distinction may perhaps be suggested by way of conclusion. The historian of the crusades may assert that the age of the holy war is past. The student of missions, on the other hand, must remind us that the problem of Islam is still very much with us.

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[15] Quoted by Dana C. Munro in "War and History," *American Historical Review*, XXXII (1927), 219.

[16] Pierre Charles in Descamps, *op. cit.*, pp. 648ff.

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

POPE GELASIUS I AND HIS TEACHING ON THE RELATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

I MAKE bold to nominate Pope Gelasius I as a member of Professor Rand's and Monsignor Grabmann's Academy of Founders of the Middle Ages. If the name of this pontiff is a bit unfamiliar to modern ears it was by no means so in the Middle Ages. One cannot read very far in the mediaeval political theorists or on matters concerning the Church and State controversy without becoming aware of the really great influence of Gelasius. Recently this influence has been made the subject of a sizeable volume.[1]

Church historians have slighted the memory of Saint Gelasius I. Ordinary manuals of church history scarcely mention him—they certainly give little indication of his importance. John Peter Kirsch in the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* says that he was second only to Leo the Great among the popes of his century, but Kirsch has little about him in his revision of Hergenröther. Dom Poulet in his massive *Histoire du Christianisme* (1932) and Bihlmeyer in the tenth edition (1936) of Funk's *Kirchengeschichte* have at least a few enlightened pages on him. Long ago, it is true, Baronius and Tillemont treated of him at length. In 1880 Abbé Roux wrote a rather good French monograph on him; Father Trezzini made a study of the canonical aspect of Gelasius' teaching in his Fribourg dissertation of 1911; Father Grzelak in a work emanating from the University of Poznan in 1922 treated of the teaching of Gelasius concerning the authority of the Holy See. None of these monographs turned Catholic thought in the direction of Gelasius. It seems evident that the one who has done most in recent years to rescue the name of Gelasius from oblivion has been A. J. Carlyle in his treatment of that pope's theory on the relation of Church and State. Carlyle's influence in this matter has been by no means limited to the English-speaking world.

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[1] Dr. Lotte Knabe, *Die Gelasianische Zweigewaltentheorie bis zum Ende des Investiturstreits*, Historische Studien, Heft 292 (Berlin, 1936).

Then in 1933 along came the second volume of Erich Caspar's *Geschichte des Papsttums* with forty or more large pages on Gelasius. Caspar recognized the greatness of this pope; his treatment has been heralded as replacing all earlier work and laying an entirely new basis for the Gelasian theory of the "two powers".[2] It is not to be denied that Caspar was a great historian, but he writes on the papacy, and in particular on Gelasius, from an utterly secular viewpoint, the viewpoint of *Machtgeschichte*. He strips the papacy of its spiritual content and describes its history as a grab for power. His views have been rigorously criticized by Catholic historians, and errors in his treatment of Gelasius have not escaped their attention.[3] Since Caspar seems destined to have great influence on the writing of church history, there is need of a detailed re-examination of the whole Gelasian problem. The following pages present a brief account of Gelasius' life and teachings. They make no pretense of being the thorough-going treatment the subject deserves.

Gelasius was elected pope on March 3, 492 and died on November 21, 496. His pontificate of four years, eight months, and eighteen days was a short period indeed in which to achieve fame. But it has long been known that Gelasius had served his predecessor Felix II (483-492)[4] in a secretarial capacity. Even a cursory reader is struck by the marked similarity of style and content between Felix' letters and those of Gelasius' own pontificate. In fact the name of the latter pope is actually attached to a few of his predecessor's letters in the manuscripts. Recently the question has been raised whether Gelasius did not wield the pen for Felix throughout his pontificate. Hugo Koch set out to make a thorough investigation of the problem and has published his findings.[5] He argues, on the basis of careful examination of style, that Gelasius wrote not only the letters of Felix but those of Simplicius, the second predecessor as well. To avoid superficial conclusions he compared the letters of these three popes with letters of earlier popes and writings of other patristic authors. He found that there was much borrowing from Christian tradition in the papal letters, but he believes that the letters of the three popes show such close similarity that they must have come from the pen of Gelasius, who probably was the archdeacon of his two predecessors.

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[2] Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, tr. by. R. F. Bennett (Oxford, 1940), p. 33, n. 2.

[3] Cf E. Stein, "La période byzantine de la papauté", *Catholic Historical Review*, XXI (1935), 132-137.

[4] He is incorrectly designated by most authors as Felix III. Cf. F. X. Seppelt, *Lexikon f. Theologie u. Kirche*, III, 991-992.

[5] *Gelasius im kirchenpolitischen Dienste seiner Vorgänger, der Päpste Simplicius (468-483) und Felix III. (483-492)*, Sitzungsber. der bayer. Ak., phil.-hist. Abt., 1933, Heft 6.

Koch's arguments have not gone unchallenged. Nelly Ertl, an expert in diplomatics, in a review of Koch's work[6] does not admit that Gelasius composed the letters of Simplicius. She feels that Koch based his proof too exclusively on the wording of the letters, which in this field can rarely decide the authorship.[7] It would seem that she is right, though, following Caspar, she insists without reason that Pope Simplicius' letters reveal him as a weakling. On the other hand Ertl has elsewhere proved conclusively from content as well as wording that Gelasius composed most, if not all, of the letters of Felix and that he evidently had great influence on his policies. It is very probable that he not only composed but inspired the letters of Felix.[8] Thus it becomes evident that Gelasius, despite his brief term of office, actually was a figure of great influence in the papal curia over a long period of time. With the letters of two pontificates to draw from we possess a really large corpus of writings belonging to Gelasius. Most of this corpus was edited in 1868 by that fine scholar, Andreas Thiel,[9] then professor of theology at the little Academy of Braunsberg and later bishop of Ermland. In this edition the letters and tracts attributed to

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[6] *Deutsches Archiv*, II (1938), 219-220.

[7] A doctoral dissertation in progress at the Catholic University of America by Philip Bagan, O.S.B. on the syntax of the letters of Gelasius' own pontificate will probably form a surer basis for stylistic comparison between Simplicius and Gelasius.

[8] Nelly Ertl, "Diktatoren frühmittelalterlicher Papstbriefe", *Archiv für Urkundenforschung und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters,* XV (1937), 61-66.

[9] *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum a S. Hilario usque ad S. Hormisdam* (Brunsbergae, 1868).

Gelasius take up over 250 pages, after the works whose authenticity has been rejected are excluded.[10] Twenty-two brief and not very important Gelasian letters have been found since.[11] Among the official writings of Felix' pontificate at least a dozen must be attributed to Gelasius.[12] Two books *Adversus Arrium* attributed to Gelasius by the *Liber Pontificalis* have never been identified. The same holds for the *Tractatus diversarum scripturarum et sacramentorum,* as well as for his homilies and his hymns written in imitation of St. Ambrose. His extant writings, as one would expect, form our chief source concerning Gelasius. If they tell us little of his life, they are very revealing as regards his activity, his devotion to the Church, his mental stature, and his character.

Concerning his life we have a little information from other sources. The account in the *Liber Pontificalis* is rather jejune, though even in it, as Duchesne observes,[13] there are to be found the first traces in a *vita* of the *Book of the Popes* of personal memories and feelings on the part of the author. Duchesne holds that the first section of the *Liber* was prepared early in the sixth century—accordingly not long after the pontificate of Gelasius. But better than this, there is extant a tribute to the pope on the part of Dionysius the Little, of canon law fame, who did not know him personally but came to Rome about the time of the pope's death. It takes the form of a letter written by Dionysius to Julian, a priest ordained by Gelasius. The letter is prefixed to Dionysius' collection of law and with its diffusion spread the fame of the pope through Christendom. Dionysius writes: [14]

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[10] Of the forty-three letters and decretals published by Thiel, nos. 2, 3, 10, 13, 42, and 43 are not to be considered genuine. Cf. Walter Haacke, *Die Glaubensformel des Papstes Hormisdas im Acacianischen Schisma,* Analecta Gregoriana, XX (Rome, 1939), 32-44. Besides these Thiel publishes six tracts attributed to Gelasius and forty-nine fragments of his writings. *Tractatus II,* an excellent presentation of the primacy of the Holy See, is not the work of Gelasius. Cf. Haacke, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Caspar considers it to be genuine (*Gesch. des Papsttums,* II, 750). The shortened and garbled form of the letter to the bishops of Dardania (Thiel, *Ep.* 26), which Thiel prints (pp. 414-422) after the original, does not of course belong to the Gelasian corpus. The reader must be on his guard because authors treating of Gelasius, even the more recent ones, cite works which are not authentic.

[11] Ed. by S. Loewenfeld, *Epistolae pontificum Romanorum ineditae* (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 1-12.

[12] N. Ertl, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung,* XV, 66, note 82. The letters of Gelasius' pontificate, spurious writings included, appear as nos. 620-743 in the *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* of Jaffé-Kaltenbrunner; those of Felix begin with no 591. A number of these letters appear in the *Collectio Avellana* edited in 1895 by Otto Guenther in C S E L, Vol. XXXV, Pars I (referred to hereafter as *Avell.*), and others in E. Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum Acacianischen Schisma* (Abh. der bayer. Ak., phil.-hist. Abt., N. F. Heft 10, 1934). These editions in many instances offer a better text than Thiel and are followed in this study.

[13] *Liber Pontificalis,* I, 256.

> How great the merit of Pope Gelasius is before God we who have not seen him in body easily perceive through you, his disciples, who were formed by his instruction and adorn the priesthood with your holy life, so that his works appear in a way to shine in your manifest good conduct. For he, as we have learned from you and others, was a man of such good will that with God's consent he took the highest position in the Church unto the salvation of many, assuming it to serve rather than to dominate and joining the merit of learning to innocence of life. His whole activity is said to have been either prayer or reading. Sometimes also, as a case or reason required it, he turned to writing. He enjoyed especially communion and association with the servants of God, and fired by their spiritual conversation he took such joy in the pursuit of divine love and in meditation on the word of God that what the psalmist sang might be applied to him: "Blessed is the man whom thou shalt instruct, O Lord: and shalt teach him out of thy law. That thou mayst give him rest from evil days" (Ps. 93: 12-13). For he passed through the evil days of this world under the Lord's kindly guidance and bore all the dangers of life with wonderful prudence and patience; he preferred fasting to indulgence and trod pride under foot by humility; he shone with such mercy and generosity as to endow almost all the poor and die poor himself. He was indeed blessed in this poverty, through which he persevered in the divine praises, as the prophet says to the Lord: "The poor and needy shall praise thy name" (Ps. 73: 21). His spirit was full of light, his life exemplary, his authority revered. Adorned with so many eminent virtues he advanced not unworthily to his high office. Looking upon this position of highest dignity as a very grave charge, he maintained that a little neglect on the part of the pontiff is a serious danger for souls. Accordingly he gave himself up to no vain idling nor to the luxurious and wasteful banquets that

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[14] The Latin is available in Duchesne, *loc. cit.*, and Thiel, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-287.

> bring maladies of soul and body. This pastor was an imitator of the great good Shepherd, an outstanding bishop of the apostolic see, who lived the divine precepts and taught them. Hence we trust that he is great among the saints, according to the promise of Christ the Lord, who said: "But he that shall do and teach, he shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5: 19).

In the sketch by Dionysius the deeply spiritual character of the pontiff stands out. Devoted to duty, he was by no means arrogant. If he was strict with others his greatest austerity was toward himself. He was learned and a great teacher as well. Above all he was charitable to the poor and efficient in relieving their distress. His charity to them is emphasized too in the account of the *Liber Pontificalis.* And among his regulations was the famous provision that one fourth of the revenue of a church should go to the poor.[15]

In a letter to Emperor Anastasius, Gelasius boasted that he was Roman born,[16] while the *Liber Pontificalis* calls him *natione Afer.* There seems to be no contradiction. Long ago Baronius argued that he might be a Roman, though born in Africa, and might especially call himself a Roman if he had been born in Africa before 429, when the Vandals took it over. On the other hand he may have been born of African stock in Rome.[17]

There is no need to mention that he lived in stirring times. He saw Odovacar take over the rule in Italy as the Empire of the West came to its end. He was pope when Theodoric the Ostrogoth slew Odovacar and set up an Arian barbarian kingdom in Italy. But of all this there is scarcely a trace in his writings.[18] They deal with affairs in the Church—mostly with the East.

Somewhat paradoxically Gelasius is perhaps most widely known for works which he did not write. The first *Index of Forbidden Books,* the *De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis,* is also called the *Decretum Gelasianum.* The work, which is only in part an "Index ", consists of two sections. Its first three chapters appear to be of the fourth century. The remainder was probably composed in or near the time of Gelasius evidently by a private individual. Its author is thought to have been a cleric of southern Gaul.[19] The vague, incoherent nature of the work makes it quite unlike the decretals of Gelasius.

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[15] Jaffé-Kaltenbrunner [=JK] 636: Thiel, *Epistola* 14 (p. 378). Cf. also *Fragmenta* 24, 28, 35, 36 (Thiel, pp. 498 ff.).

[16] JK, 632; Thiel, *Ep.* 12 (p. 350), Schwartz, *Pub. Sammlungen,* p. 19, l. 27.

[17] Cf. Hugo Koch, *op. cit.,* pp. 77-78.

[18] He was on amicable terms with Theodoric and especially with his Catholic mother, Herleuva. Cf. Caspar, *Gesch. des Papsttums,* II, 74-75.

The so-called *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* received this name in the ninth century. Presumably the name of Gelasius was attached to it because of the indication in the *Liber Pontificalis*: " *fecit etiam et sacramentorum praefationes et orationes cauto sermone* ".[20] The date of this sacramentary, which is conceded to be of Roman origin, is a matter of controversy. Later authorities have not accepted Duchesne's dating (628-731). The nucleus of the collection appears to antedate 600. It may contain at least some of the liturgical compositions of Gelasius.[21]

A startling heading over a passage from one of Gelasius' tracts appears in Mirbt's famous collection of sources on the history of the papacy. In translation the title reads, " Gelasius I: In the Eucharist no transubstantiation ". The passage [22] had long since been noted and studied by the theologians. Gelasius does literally say that in the Eucharist " the substance or nature of bread and wine does not cease to exist." But this passage can only be interpreted in the light of what follows in the same paragraph, unless he was manifestly contradicting himself. He goes on to say that " they [the bread and wine] pass over into the divine substance by the operation of the Holy Spirit, while they retain what is proper to their nature ". In the first sentence his highly unusual way of expressing himself is due to the influence of Theodoret. Strange as it seems, he is making *substantia* and *natura* synonyms for the Eucharistic accidents. The *proprietas naturae* that remains after the bread and wine have passed over into the divine substance was eventually called by theology the species or accidents. These technical terms for speaking of the Eucharist were defined at a much later date. The whole tract in which this passage occurs was directed against the Eutychians, who denied the two natures in Christ. The passage represents a none too happy attempt at a further argument against these heretics.[23]

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[19] For recent opinion on this work, cf. G. Bardy, " Gélase (décret de) ", *Supplément du dictionnaire de la Bible,* III (1938), 579-590. Joh. Haller in his *Das Papsttum,* I (1934), 491, still holds with Mirbt that there is a Gelasian kernel in the document.

[20] Duchesne, I, 255.

[21] For recent bibliography on this sacramentary, cf. Berthold Altaner, *Patrologie* (Freiburg i. Br., 1938), p. 298, c.

[22] " Certe sacramenta, quae sumimus, corporis et sanguinis Christi divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinae *efficimur consortes naturae*; et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum [mystica] celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus et sumimus: ut sicut in hanc, scilicet [et sicut haec licet] in divinam transeant sancto Spiritu perficiente substantiam, permanentes [permaneant] tamen in suae proprietate naturae, sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, cuius nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter repraesentant, ex quibus constat proprie permanentibus, unum Christum, quia integrum verumque, permanere demonstrant." —Carl Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des römischen Katholizismus* (5th ed., 1934), no. 190. The passage is quoted from Thiel, pp. 541-542 (*S. Gelasii papae tractatus III: De duabus naturis in Christo*

Gelasius in his writings was most concerned with heresy and schism in the East. However he dealt with many other matters in his letters, and two of his treatises take up problems in the West. Thus he sent a letter to the bishops of the province of Picenum against the errors of Pelagianism,[24] and two letters on this heresy to Honorius, metropolitan of Dalmatia.[25] His fifth tract is occupied

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adversus Eutychem et Nestorium). Changes made in the text in the recent edition of Schwartz (*Pub. Sammlungen*, p. 94, ll. 26-34) are indicated in brackets.

[23] Thiel offers an explanation of the difficulty in a lengthy note (p. 542); cf. I. F. De Groot, S. I., *Conspectus historiae dogmatum* (Rome, 1931), II, 302-303. On Theodoret, cf. De Groot, II, 223-224. Another Eucharistic passage in Gelasius has been thought to attribute the power of consecration to one who is not a priest (*Letter to Elpidius, bishop of Volterra*, Thiel, p. 486). Josef R. Geiselmann (*Die Abendmahlslehre an der Wende der christlichen Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter*, Munich, 1933, pp. 218-221) shows by a study of the Latinity that this meaning is not that of the text and that the text requires no emendation.

[24] J K, 621: Thiel, *Ep.* 6, pp. 325 ff., *Avell.*, no. 94.

[25] J K, 625 and 626: Thiel, *Ep.* 4 and 5, pp. 321 ff., *Avell.*, nos. 96 and 98.

with a refutation of the same errors.[26] He was very vehement in his condemnation. In these writings his teaching on grace adheres closely to that of St. Augustine.[27] In passing it may be mentioned that he also fought the Manichaeans; the *Liber Pontificalis* says that he burned their books.

Perhaps the most interesting of his tracts is the one written to put an end to the celebration of the Lupercalia.[28] This obscene feast retained a peculiar hold on the people and was participated in even by some Christians. It was defended by the powerful senator Andromachus. In the spirit of Ambrose's attack on the restoration of the Altar of Victory Gelasius castigates and ridicules the superstition that makes people fear a neglect of the feast will bring bad luck to Rome. The fact that its supporters are laymen is no excuse for them; it is a serving of demons. He forbids all Christians to participate in it, but with remarkable toleration, at that late date, makes no attempt to regulate for the pagans.[29]

Gelasius was above all a lover of the law. His pontificate gave a new impetus to the development of canon law. That fact was signalized when Dionysius the Little placed a eulogy of this pope at the head of his canonical collection. Inspired, it seems not unreasonable to think, by Gelasius, a whole movement toward codification of canon law got under way. The distinguished historian of ecclesiastical law, Gabriel Le Bras, has recognized this and writes of it as "La renaissance gélasienne." [30] Besides the collection of

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[26] J K, 627: Thiel, *Tr. V,* pp. 571 ff., *Avell.,* no. 97.

[27] R. Hedde et E. Amann, "Pelagianisme, (Destinées ultérieures)", *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XII (1933), 713-714; A. Koch, "Die Auktorität des hl. Augustin in der Lehre von der Gnade u. Prädestination. (c) Gelasius I", *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 73 (1891), 287-292.

[28] Not listed in J K. Thiel, *Tr. VI,* pp. 598 ff., *Avell.,* no. 100.

[29] Caspar (*Gesch. des Papsttums,* II, 34, note) seems to err in stating that the treatise was written before Gelasius became pope. In his conclusion, which Caspar quotes, Gelasius seeks to explain why his predecessors had failed to stop the celebration. This can scarcely refer to any but his papal predecessors.

[30] "Un moment décisif dans l'histoire de l'église et du droit canon: La renaissance gélasienne", *Revue historique de droit français et étranger,* 1930, 506-518.

Dionysius, he lists the collections of Freising, of St. Blaise, of the Vatican, of Chieti, of Justel, and probably the *Quesnelliana* [31] as belonging to this renaissance, which extended from the elevation of Gelasius to the death of Pope Hormisdas (523). In this remarkable multiplication of law collections Le Bras finds a definite character. They show the triumph of authentic texts over the pseudo-apostolic apocryphal law and a transition from an era of local to general collections. In particular they enforce Roman discipline: law prevails over custom; a universal spirit, the collective legal experience and wisdom of Christendom, prevails over particularism; the primacy of Rome over all the churches is set out in bold relief.[32]

This was not the only influence of Gelasius on the development of canon law. He promulgated a great number of canonical regulations, and his legislation became a fruitful source for the *Decretum Gratiani*.[33] He had much to say about the constitution of the Church, the *ius internum ecclesiae*, as canonists term it. He made important utterances on the papacy as well as on all the ranks of the clergy.[34] Apparently he was the first to apply the term *summus pontifex* exclusively to the Roman pontiff.[35] He insisted that the Roman see enjoys a primacy not merely of honor but of jurisdiction.[36] All ecclesiastical cases may be appealed to Rome, but none from Rome.[37] Peter and his successors in the Roman see enjoy infallibility.[38]

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[31] Cf. Fournier-Le Bras, *Histoire des collections canoniques en occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien*, I (Paris, 1931), 23-29.

[32] Le Bras, *op. cit.*, 508 ff.

[33] A. Roux (*Le pape Gélase 1er, 492-496: Etude sur sa vie et ses écrits*, Paris, 1880, p. 143) counts eighty-eight authentic passages of Gelasius in the *Decretum*. These need to be rechecked.

[34] Cf. C. Trezzini, *La legislazione canonica di papa S. Gelasio I* (Locarno, 1911), pp. 41 ff.

[35] J K, 636: Thiel, *Ep*. 14, cap. 6 (p. 367; cf. note 51). Gratian quotes this letter twenty-four times. J K, 643: Thiel, *Ep*. 25 (p. 391; cf. note).

[36] Roman Synod of May 13, 495: Thiel, *Ep*. 30, cap. 12 (p. 445), *Avell.*, no. 103; J K, 626: Thiel, *Ep*. 5, cap. 1 (p. 324), *Avell.*, no. 98; J K, 621: Thiel, *Ep*. 6, cap. 10 (pp. 324-325), *Avell.*, no. 94; J K, 640: Thiel, *Ep*. 19, cap. 1 (p. 386), M G H, Epistolae, III, 32, no. 22.

But the greatest claim of Gelasius to recognition in the modern world is his exposition of the *ius publicum externum,* the law governing relations of Church and State. His teaching on this appears incidentally in his writings as he strove to put an end to the Acacian Schism in the Eastern Church, a difficulty which he inherited from his predecessors.

To understand the attitude of Gelasius one needs to know the religious situation in the East in the period from the Council of Chalcedon to the outbreak of the Acacian Schism. While the reader must be referred to fuller recent accounts,[39] it will not be without some use perhaps to recall here a bare outline of events.

The Council of Chalcedon in 451 had, among other things, defined the teaching of the two natures in Christ and condemned the heretic Eutyches with his champion, Dioscoros, patriarch of Alexandria. Before breaking up, the council had added its canon twenty-eight, confirming an enactment of the Council of Constantinople in 381, which made Constantinople the first patriarchal see after Rome. The canon was added in the absence of the papal legates and was repudiated by Pope Leo the Great, just as the enactment of 381 had not been accepted by Rome. On the other hand Chalcedon became much beloved at Constantinople because of this canon. However, the patriarch Anatolius seemed to renounce its claims, and for a considerable period the church of the imperial city was in harmony with Rome.

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[37] J K, 664: Thiel, *Ep.* 26, cap. 3-4 (pp. 395 ff.), *Avell.,* no. 95 (pp. 372 ff.).

[38] J K, 632: Thiel, Ep. 12, cap. 6 (p. 353), Schwartz, *Pub. Sammlungen,* p. 21. J K, 624: Thiel, *Ep.* 8, cap. 3 (p. 339), Schwartz, p. 58. Trezzini (*op. cit.,* p. 100) refers to a passage in *Tractatus II,* cap. 10, but this is not a work of Gelasius.

[39] Karl Bihlmeyer, *Kirchengeschichte,* I (Paderborn, 1936), 255-261; J. Bardy in Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'église,* IV (Paris, 1937), 224-341. The two following excellent dissertations exploit recent critical material: Theodor Schnitzler, *In Kampf um Chalcedon, Geschichte und Inhalt des Codex Encyclius von 458,* Analecta Gregoriana, Vol. XVI (Rome, 1938); Walter Haacke, *op. cit.* Besides his various other important contributions to this history, E. Schwartz devotes pp. 161-304 of his *Publizistische Sammlungen* to a study of the Acacian Schism. His work has been corrected in a few important points by Père Peeters in the *Analecta Bollandiana,* LIV (1936), 151-159.

In Egypt there was much dissatisfaction with Chalcedon. In the opinion of the Alexandrians their St. Cyril had at this council been supplanted by Pope Leo. Chalcedon had likewise brought the condemnation of Dioscoros, their patriarch. Especially irritating was the fact that it had been a victory for hated Constantinople. The Monophysites fanned this feeling of what would now be called Egyptian nationalism. They seized the patriarchal see of Alexandria as well as those of Jerusalem and Antioch, and it was not without considerable difficulty that Emperor Marcian had their bishops deposed. The death of the emperor permitted the Monophysites to install another patriarch, Timothy Aelurus, at Alexandria. After some delay he in turn was exiled by Emperor Leo. In 475 the usurping emperor, Basiliscus, reversed the imperial policy. He deferred to the Monophysites and permitted the recall of Timothy Aelurus. In his *Encyclion* he condemned the Council of Chalcedon and the famous dogmatic epistle or *tomus* of Leo the Great. Five hundred or more bishops signed this document. But Acacius, who had become patriarch of Constantinople in 471, refused to do so.

In September of 476 Zeno, who had been displaced by Basiliscus, regained the throne, and Chalcedon was again in official favor. However in 482 he published the *Henoticon,* a formula designed to establish unity among the discordant religious groups in the East. It was not exactly heterodox. It condemned Nestorius and Eutyches and accepted St. Cyril. But it ignored the *tomus* of Leo, referred only in passing and without approval to Chalcedon, and made no mention of the two natures in Christ. In its colorless form it pleased neither the orthodox party nor the Monophysites. Acacius, who evidently drafted the formula, and Peter Mongus, Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, both signed it.

In the meantime, since the restoration of Zeno, Acacius had given Pope Simplicius reason for alarm. He had gone beyond even what Chalcedon claimed for Constantinople and consecrated Calendion for the patriarchal see of Antioch. Simplicius protested with some vehemence in letters to Zeno and Acacius. The pope was likewise disturbed over events in the church of Alexandria. He complained because Acacius had not kept him informed concerning them and especially because Peter Mongus had been permitted to retain the see of Alexandria despite his heretical record. The orthodox claimant of the see, John Talaia, had been accused by the emperor of accepting consecration after he had sworn not to do so. Simplicius investigated this charge and found it false, as did Pope Gelasius later.[40] Simplicius wrote to Constantinople three times about this matter without receiving an answer. He died before the news of the *Henoticon* reached him.

Pope Felix II began by writing a kindly letter to Zeno and another to Acacius, which he sent by two legates, the bishops, Vitalis and Misenus. But on receiving fuller knowledge of the *Henoticon* and the communion with Peter Mongus he dispatched a third letter after the other two. It summoned Acacius to Rome. The papal legates were won over by Acacius and given to understand that satisfactory explanation could and would be made to Rome. They gave their approval by assisting at the liturgy celebrated by Acacius, at which the name of Peter Mongus was read aloud from the diptychs. Acacius was promptly excommunicated by a large Roman synod called by the pope (July 28, 484). Acacius retaliated by having the name of the pope struck from the diptychs at Constantinople. But he was unable to prevent the promulgation of his own excommunication. The orthodox Sleepless Monks succeeded in having one of their members pin the excommunication on his cloak in the course of a liturgical function.[41] Thus Acacius began the schism which was to last until 519—the first great breach of the Eastern Church with Rome. He died excommunicated in 489. His successor, Fravita, tried in the short time he was patriarch to remain in communion with both Pope Felix and Peter Mongus. The next patriarch, Euphemius, loyal to Chalcedon, sought to be reconciled with Rome but was apparently unable to accede to the demands of Felix that the name of Acacius be removed from the diptychs.

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[40] Peeters (*op. cit.*, pp. 152 ff.) shows that this was a trumped-up charge against John Talaia. He corrects Schwartz on this point, but nearly all authors, Catholic and non-Catholic, need the same correction.

[41] Some modern authors say that it was pinned on his pallium. This would have been romantic indeed, but the pallium in the technical ecclesiastical sense was not sent out from Rome in those days.

Gelasius' own approach to the situation in the East was based on the historical facts. He reveals himself somewhat of an historian. His first tract,[42] known as *Gesta de nomine Acacii vel Breviculus historiae Eutychianistarum,* gives a lucid account of the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, of the meddling of Constantinople in these heresies, and the unsuccessful efforts of the popes to correct the evils. It dates from before his own pontificate, having apparently been written in the year 488.[43] His source of information was a Latin translation of the *Libellus* of the Egyptian bishops contained in the *Codex Encyclius.*[44] This codex consisted of synodal reports sent in 458 from various churches in the East at the request of Emperor Leo I. The synods reported their attitude toward the Council of Chalcedon and toward the disturbances caused by heretics at Alexandria.[45]

Gelasius investigated the theological errors of the East in another tract: [46] *De duabus naturis in Christo adversus Eutychem et Nestorium.* He does not use the word *Monophysitae,* which is of later origin, but he directs the term μονόφυσις against the doctrine of the Eutychians.[47] The use of "Monophysite" to designate the various heretical groups in the East at this period is a modern convention.[48]

The friends of Acacius sought to have the anathema lifted from his name and Gelasius answered them in his *Tomus de anathematis vinculo,*[49] written late in his pontificate. One of those friends was the Emperor Anastasius I. It is principally in connection with him that Gelasius' teaching on Church and State is proclaimed, though his doctrine on the matter had been laid down by him before.

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[42] Thiel, pp. 510 ff., *Avell.,* no. 99.

[43] Cf. Caspar, *op. cit.,* II, 751.

[44] Cf. Schnitzler, *op. cit.,* pp. 69-70.

[45] *Ibid.,* pp. 1 ff.

[46] J K, 670: *Tractatus III*: Thiel, pp. 530 ff., Schwartz, *Pub. Sammlungen,* pp. 85 ff.

[47] Thiel, p. 541. Schwartz, p. 94, l. 10: mone fysis.

[48] Schwartz, p. 171.

[49] J K, 701: *Tractatus IV,* Thiel, pp. 557 ff., Schwartz, 7 ff.

In fact it appears strongly in the letters of Felix II, some of which were written by Gelasius and bear the unmistakable stamp of his thought. The very first of those letters[50] is Gelasian.[51] The occasion of the letter, sent to Emperor Zeno, has been mentioned above. It addresses the emperor with marked respect; it is diffuse in expression of warm devotion to his person and the empire and differs much in this from the laconic formulae of Simplicius' letters. It begins: "It was surely proper, Venerable Emperor, after the death of Pope Simplicius, my predecessor of holy memory, and my own election to his place, that I should write to Your Clemency to announce the events, as the course of things required, and to show my first courtesies . . ." To further show his deference he is sending the letter by distinguished legates. "Through them I beg you, as if making my plea in person before Your Honor, to accept my petition with kindly ear as a Christian emperor. Let not Your Piety conceive that anyone loves you more sincerely than he who wishes you to have perpetual peace with God, for you do not doubt that the power of your temporal office and your participation in eternal life depend on the Divine mercy." Pope Simplicius had waited anxiously for letters on the state of the Church and especially concerning the see of St. Mark, but none came. "Again, then, the venerable confession of St. Peter, not ceasing to urge you in motherly accents as the highest of her sons, exclaims with confidence in Your Piety: O Christian Emperor, why do you permit me to be cut off from the bond of charity by which the universal Church is joined? Why do you allow the assent of the whole world toward me to be broken? I beseech you, O most pious son, do not let the tunic of the Lord, which, 'woven in one piece from the top', prefigured that there was to be a single Church brought into one body by the Holy Spirit, do not let it be violated by any deceit; let not its integrity, which endured among those who crucified the Savior, be cut to pieces in your time. Is it not alone my faith which the

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[50] J K, 591: Thiel, pp. 222 ff., Schwartz, pp. 63 ff.

[51] N. Ertl, *Arch. f. Urkundenforschung*, XV, 66, note 82. Cf. Caspar, *loc. cit.*

Lord showed was true and not to be overcome by any adversity, when He promised that the gates of hell will never prevail against His Church to be founded on my confession?" The emperor is reminded that his orthodoxy gave him the throne and restored him to it. He is urged to imitate his august predecessors, Marcian and Leo. Then the religious problems are broached, especially the question of heresy in Alexandria.

Officially this letter belongs to Felix II, but it is the work of Gelasius, and the sentiments of deference to the *princeps* are his own. A fuller knowledge of what Zeno and Acacius had previously done in ecclesiastical matters and now their corruption of the papal legates were to strain the relations of the papacy with the imperial government.

In a letter of August 1, 484[52] Felix chides Zeno for what was done to the legates and promulgates the excommunication of Acacius. Again it is the composition of Gelasius. It concludes:

> I assume that you, Pious Emperor, who are pleased to be bound by your own laws rather than to go against them, must obey the heavenly decrees, and that you realize that the honor in temporal things is given you on condition that you do not hesitate to accept divine things from the divinely constituted dispensers. I assume that it will without doubt be useful to you if you allow the Catholic Church in the time of your rule to follow its laws and do not permit anyone to obstruct the liberty of the one who restored to you the power over your kingdom. It will certainly be wholesome for your government that when there is question of the things of God you according to God's command make it a point to submit your royal will to the priests of Christ, not impose it on them; that you learn sacred things from the rulers of the Church, not teach them;[53] that you follow the constitution of the Church, not fix laws on it to be followed after the manner of men; that you do not wish to lord it over its decrees, when God wished Your Clemency to bow your neck before it in filial devotion, lest by a violation of the order established by heaven God who

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[52] J K, 601: Thiel, pp. 247 ff., Schwartz, pp. 81 ff.

[53] The antithesis, *discere potius quam docere,* was not a new expression. It was used by Seneca and in Christian literature since Cyprian. Cf. Hugo Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 48 and Caspar, II, 33-34. Another use of this play on words is attributed to Gelasius (J K, 611: Thiel, *Ep.* 1, Schwartz, p. 293), but the work seems not to be authentic. Cf. *infra.*

> made that order be insulted. And with this, I, who shall have to plead my case before the judgment seat of Christ, deliver my conscience of all those things; it should be a matter of concern to you to think more and more that we are under the Divine scrutiny in the present state and that after the course of this life we shall come into the Divine judgment.

In this letter Gelasius, writing for Felix, distinguishes between the sphere of the Church and that of the State, as he does later more directly and precisely. The letter urges the emperor not to interfere with the Church. It reminds Zeno again that his loyalty to the Church has aided him in the past. It grows more serious and insists that trespassing on the domain of the spiritual power is an offense against God and will incur His judgment.

On May 1, 490, after the death of Acacius and the election of the orthodox Fravita, another letter of Felix written by Gelasius was sent to Zeno.[54] It is very kindly in tone, praising his zeal for religion, commending him especially for leaving the things of the Church to the bishops. It notes with approval that the new patriarch has had recourse to Rome. However, the Holy See is disturbed because those sent from Constantinople have no instructions regarding the names to be effaced from the diptychs. The emperor is urged to remove the names of Peter Mongus and Acacius. Even if the former was received back into the Church from heresy he could not have been permitted to rule over the see of Alexandria. Acacius, on his part, misled the emperor and would not be pardoned in the Divine judgment even if the pope wished to absolve him. In asking that Zeno carry out his directions the pope says: " Those things, Most Revered Emperor, I do not wrest from you as a vicar of Blessed Peter by the authority as it were of apostolic power, but I confidently implore as an anxious father desiring that the welfare and prosperity of my most clement son endure long."

In the series of letters considerable confusion has been caused by the document entitled: *De vitanda communione Acacii missa ad orientales episcopos.*[55] It is very frequently cited. In the manuscripts it is attributed to Gelasius, but it has generally been considered to belong to the pontificate of Felix. Recently Father Haacke[56] has brought out arguments which seem to show conclusively that the work is not that of either pope, but a theological treatise of somewhat later date. One very good argument against its authenticity—and there are several—is the utter lack of the wonted respect in addressing the emperor! The document is rather crude in its style and argument.[57] Its strong passage proscribing interference of the civil powers in ecclesiastical matters is often quoted to demonstrate the attitude of Felix and Gelasius.[58] It begins: " Did the emperor investigate his case [that of Peter Mongus] and receive him back into communion? It is evident then that he was not received back according to ecclesiastical law; his reception is quite foreign to ecclesiastical discipline. And if you say: ' But the emperor is a Catholic ', saving his peace we shall say, ' He is a son, not a prelate of the Church '." There is really nothing in the doctrine of the passage that differs from the Gelasian teaching. One of its sentences which, taken from the context, seems to oblige civil rulers to submit all their commands to ecclesiastical authorities has caused great indignation on the part of some authors.

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[54] J K, 612: Thiel, *Ep.* 15, pp. 270 ff., Schwartz, pp. 82 ff.

[55] J K, 611: Thiel, *Ep. Gelasii* 1, pp. 287 ff., Schwartz, pp. 33 ff.

When Gelasius became pope himself he repeated and clarified his teaching on the relation of Church and State. The emperor he had to deal with was Anastasius I, who had come to the throne in 491. The new ruler was more than ordinarily religious, but his religion was tainted with Monophysite beliefs. When Peter Fullo died Anastasius had even been proposed as a candidate for the see of Antioch. In Constantinople he had acted as a lay-preacher until silenced by Patriarch Euphemius. The latter mistrusted him and before acceding to his elevation as emperor had insisted that he swear to do nothing that would encourage the Monophysite error.

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[56] *Op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

[57] Ferdinand Cavallera in his valuable article, " La doctrine sur le prince chrétien dans les lettres pontificales du V^{me} siècle," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, XXXVIII (1937), 173-174, in quoting the work offers the ingenious explanation that the text we possess is only a rough draft of a papal letter. This does not suffice to explain the language and errors of fact in the text.

[58] A. J. Carlyle (*A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, I, 87) quotes the whole passage. On the same page and the next he quotes from *Ep.* 10 of Gelasius, which it also seems best to consider spurious. Cf. Haacke, p. 38. Caspar accepts the so-called first letter of Gelasius (J K, 611) and cites it (Vol. II, *passim*). Schwartz accepts it and discusses it at some length (pp. 286-287).

In the early part of Gelasius' pontificate there appears to have been no correspondence with Constantinople. A much cited letter to Patriarch Euphemius [59] now appears to be spurious.[60] The contents are not important for their political theory, but they are rather harsh and have been drawn on by writers as an indication of Gelasius' severity [61] and even arrogance.[62]

The new pontiff had not even sent a letter to Emperor Anastasius at the time he became pope. A word of complaint from the emperor himself sent by a returning embassy of Theodoric the Ostrogoth at length caused the pope to write.[63] He explains why he had previously failed to do so.[64] Imperial envoys had spread the report in Rome that they had been forbidden by the emperor to visit the pope. Gelasius had thought it better not to write lest he offend. He was glad to write, he said, and as a Roman born he loved, venerated, and looked up to the Roman emperor. As successor in the apostolic see it was his duty to endeavor to restore the fulness of the Catholic faith wherever he found it lacking. "I beg Your Piety not to consider as arrogance what is a duty in keeping with the Divine plan. Far be it from a Roman *princeps* to take offence at the truth made known to him." Then he launches into the great discourse on the two powers that formulated his other teachings on the subject and has come down through the centuries: *Duo sunt quippe, imperator auguste, quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur*: There are two [powers], August Emperor, by which this world is chiefly governed.[65] The two powers are: *auctoritas sacrata pontificum et regalis potestas.*[66] Of the two the charge [67] of the priests [*sacerdotes*] is heavier, in that they have to render an account in the Divine judgment for even the kings of men. For you know, most gracious son, that, though you preside over humankind by virtue of your office, you bow your neck piously to those who are in charge of things divine and from them you ask [*expetis*] the things of your salvation; and hence you realize that in receiving the heavenly mysteries and making proper arrangement for them, you must in the order of religion submit yourself rather than control, and that in these matters you are dependent on their judgment and do not desire them to be subject to your will. For if, as far as the sphere of civil order is concerned, the bishops themselves, recognizing that the imperial office has been conferred upon you by

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[59] J K, 620: Thiel, *Ep.* 3, pp. 312 ff., Schwartz, pp. 49 ff.

[60] Haacke, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[61] L. Duchesne, *L'église au VIeme siècle*, pp. 12-13. This passage of Duchesne is often referred to by other authors.

[62] Caspar, II, 46-51. Wilh. Kissling (*Das Verhältnis zwischen Sacerdotium u. Imperium,* Görres-Gesellschaft, Sektion f. Rechts- u. Sozialwissenschaft, 38, 1920, 129) has observed that Gelasius does not use *debes* in speaking to the emperor of his duties toward the Church but *cognoscis*.

[63] J K, 632: Thiel, *Ep.* 12, pp. 349 ff., Schwartz, pp. 19 ff.

[64] J K, 622 (cf. *supra*) says that Gelasius had written to salute the emperor (Schwartz, p. 16, l. 10), but it is itself apparently not genuine.

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[65] Scholars have disagreed over the meaning of *principaliter.* Father Robert Hull (*Medieval Theories of the Papacy,* London, 1934, pp. 14-15) thought that it should be translated: "with supreme authority." He assumes that the passage refers only to the emperor and the pope. This seems not to be the case. Gelasius mentions *pontifices* and *sacerdotes* and is evidently distinguishing between the authorities in the Church and the *regalis potestas.* Happily Gelasius employed very general terms. Perhaps he looked out from Rome to see the barbarian kingdoms developing in the West; there was one at his very door. His words could cover relations between the Church and these kings as well as the emperor, and they could take care of the pernicious evil of proprietary churches, so much a part of the barbarian kingdoms. For *principaliter* Hergenroether used "vornehmlich"; Carlyle, "chiefly"; and Caspar, "an erster Stelle". Roux and Trezzini have "d'une manière souvraine" and "sovranamente" respectively. Father Wilfrid Parsons ("The Influence of Romans XIII on Christian Political Thought: II, Augustine to Hincmar", *Theological Studies,* II, 1941, 335) uses "sovereignly". One is tempted to accept this stronger original meaning of the word for the present passage, but Gelasius uses the word *principaliter* elsewhere: "Quod malum principaliter illarum regionum respicit sacerdotes..." (J K, 621: Guenther, *Avell.,* p. 357, l. 9, Thiel, *Ep.* 6, p. 326); ". . . non considerantes quia cum una natura dicatur humana, quae tamen ex duabus constet, id est ex anima et corpore, principaliter illa causa est quia nec initialiter anima alibi possit existere quam in corpore . . ." (J K, 670, Schwartz, p. 91, l. 3, Thiel, *Tr. III,* p. 537, cap. 9); ". . . absolutio saeculari potestate praecepta et principaliter incohata ualere non possit pontificumque secutus adsensus adulationis potius fuerit quam legitimae sanctionis" (J K, 701: Schwartz, p. 14, l. 28); a fourth passage occurs in the *Ep. ad Faustum* (J K, 622, cf. *supra*): "...qui hoc certe faciendi solus habuit potestatem, beato Petro principaliter mandat apostolo: quae ligaueris super terram, . . ." (Schwartz, p. 16, l. 27, Thiel, *Ep.* 10, p. 342). While the fourth passage may give room for dispute, the first two certain passages do not require any meaning beyond "chiefly," and in the third text the meaning is "first" (in time). Hence "chiefly" would seem to be the meaning of the word in our text. Practically conclusive proof of this meaning would seem to be available in what purports to be a letter from Pope Symmachus, Gelasius' second successor, to Anastasius, but the document appears to be spurious (cf. Haacke, *op. cit.,* p. 67). In reproducing the passage on the two powers it substitutes "praecipue" for "principaliter" (J K, 761: Schwartz, p. 155, l. 6, Thiel, Symmachi, *Ep.* 10, p. 703).

[66] Caspar endeavors at great length to distinguish between the *auctoritas,* which Gelasius attributes to the Church, and the *potestas* of the kingly power (II, 65-71; 753-758). He finds a difference between the two ideas back in Republican Rome and under Augustus. He takes endless pains to show that Gelasius was making at this time a lesser claim for the Church than for the

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State. As E. Stein pointed out in a review article (*C H R,* XXI, 1935, 134-135), Caspar's distinction is quite groundless. Gelasius uses two terms because it was in the bad rhetorical taste of the time to multiply words, especially synonyms. As a matter of fact Gelasius in his *Tomus* or *Tractatus de anathematis vinculo* (cf. *infra*) refers to Church and State as *potestas utraque*. Though Caspar notes this, he puts it down as a development toward the arrogation of a greater power for the papacy. I find a conclusive argument against his opinion in Pope Felix' letter to Zeno, composed by Gelasius (J K, 612: Schwartz, p. 84, ll. 10-11): "Haec ego, reuerentissime princeps, beati Petri qualiscumque uicarius non *auctoritate* uelut *apostolicae potestatis,* extorqueo sed tamquam sollicitus pater . . . inploro."

[67] In this passage: "... in quibus tanto grauius pondus est sacerdotum, quanto etiam pro ipsis regibus hominum in diuino reddituri sunt examine rationem" (Schwartz, p. 20), the word "pondus" offers a difficulty. Was Gelasius claiming greater authority for priests than for kings? German authors regularly translate "pondus" by "Gewicht" and not by "Last". Even Haacke (*op. cit.*, p. 62, n. 6) thinks that the word cannot have the meaning of "onus". I find that in another context Gelasius certainly used the word in the sense of weight and not of burden: "... si auctoritatis pondus inquiritur, Calcedonensis synodi tenor cum apostolica sede consentiens et illius definitionis executio reperitur ..." (*Avell.*, p. 377, l. 26, Thiel, *Ep.* 26, p. 399). However the eulogy of Gelasius by Dionysius, quoted at the beginning of this article, uses "pondus" in the meaning of charge or responsibility and shows how Gelasius himself looked upon his high office: "Honorem summae dignitatis gravissimum pondus existimans, parvamque negligentiam pontificis ingens animarum discrimen contestans . . ." (Thiel, p. 287). This would appear to be the meaning of the word in the present context. Carlyle (*op. cit.*, I, 192) made this meaning familiar to English readers. The whole tenor of the letter seems to show that the pope would not wish needlessly to irritate Anastasius. It should be recalled that the authenticity of the letters where Gelasius is made to speak sharply has been challenged. In any case if he actually did in the present passage intend to lay claim to superiority of the priesthood it was because of the spiritual power over souls, as the context shows, and this the pious emperor, heretic though he was, recognized as well as did Gelasius.

> Divine disposition, obey your laws . . . with what zeal, I ask you, should you not obey those who are deputed to dispense the sacred mysteries? Moreover as no light peril threatens pontiffs who have kept silence in what concerns the worship of God, so there is no little danger for those, who, God forbid, show contempt when they should obey. And if the hearts of the faithful should in principle bow before all priests who rightly discharge divine functions, how much more must they give their assent to the head of that see whom the highest Divinity wished to rank above all priests and whom the piety of the universal Church has subsequently ever held in honor? As Your Piety is well aware no one can ever by any human device elevate himself to the privilege and confession of him whom the word of Christ set before all, whom the venerable Church has always confessed and devoutly holds as it primate. The things which are instituted by Divine judgment can be attacked by human presumption, but they can be overcome by the power of none. . . . Therefore I beseech you in your time make certain men cease to strive headlong, while the Church is disturbed, for things that are not allowed, lest they fail both to obtain what they evilly desire and to keep their state before God and men. In the presence of God I sincerely beg, beseech, and exhort Your Piety not to receive my plea with indignation; I ask you, I say, to listen to me begging in this life rather than, God forbid, hear me accusing in the Divine judgment.
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> I know well, August Emperor, what your zeal for piety was in private life. You ever desired to participate in the heavenly reward. Do not, I beg you, be angry with me if I love you so much that I would wish you to gain the eternal kingdom as you have obtained a temporal one, and that you who rule as emperor in this world may reign together with Christ.

Thus the letter goes on into a veritable sermon. It does not again strike the high tone of the brief passage on the two powers, but takes up the actual problem causing difficulty. The Church is one. Heresy disturbs that unity. Eutyches, Dioscoros, and Acacius were condemned. The name of Acacius must be struck from the diptychs. The emperor need not fear that the people will rise up if it is removed. It is on his conscience to see that his people render pure service to God. Let not those in error say that the Holy See is proud; they who resist it to remain in error are the ones who are proud.

Gelasius has more to say on the two powers in his *Tomus de anathematis vinculo.*[68] It begins by insisting that the Holy See never accepted the claim of Constantinople based on the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon. It takes up the question of the perpetual excommunication of Acacius and shows that it became perpetual only when he died in that state. "How do the civil authorities presume to judge concerning those by whom divine things are administered?" He launches into an explanation of the origin of the two powers and their separation:[69]

> It can be presumed that before the coming of Christ certain ones, in figure but nevertheless living and functioning in the flesh, were both kings and priests, as sacred history tells us holy Melchisedech was. The devil, who in his usurping spirit always hastens to appropriate what belongs to the Divine religion, initiated this among his own, so that pagan rulers were called emperors and *pontifices maximi.* But when the true King and Pontiff came the emperor no longer took the name of pontiff for himself nor did the pontiff claim the royal dignity, although the members of Him who is the true king and pontiff may be said, according to the participation of nature, to have sublimely assumed both in their sacred nobility so that they are at once a royal and priestly race. For, Christ mindful of human weakness and of what would be good for men's salvation arranged things by a Divine dispensation. Desiring that His own be saved by salutary humility and not again ruined by human pride He so divided the duties of the two powers that the Christian emperors would need the pontiffs for their eternal salvation and the pontiffs would use the imperial orderings for the course of temporal things. As a result spiritual action would be removed from carnal encroachments: no one serving as God's soldier would entangle himself in worldly affairs and on his part he who is involved in secular affairs would not assume leadership

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[68] J K, 701: Thiel, *Tr.* IV, pp. 557 ff., Schwartz, pp. 7 ff. In his letter to the bishops of Dardania Gelasius cites examples of the correction of civil rulers from David to Zeno and Odovacar when they were guilty of evil (J K, 664: *Avell.*, pp. 390-391, Thiel, *Ep.* 26, pp. 408-409). In the same letter he ridicules any claim of Constantinople to ecclesiastical importance because it is the seat of empire: "Alia potestas est regni saecularis, alia ecclesiasticarum distributio dignitatum" (*Avell.*, p. 388, Thiel, p. 406). A letter presumed to be addressed by Gelasius to the bishops of the East (J K, 665: Thiel, *Ep.* 27, pp. 422 ff., Schwartz, pp. 24 ff.) denies rulers the right to try bishops. Carlyle quotes the passage (*op. cit.*, p. 189). The document appears not to be authentic (cf. Haacke, p. 34).

[69] Schwartz, p. 14.

> in divine matters, so that the modesty of both orders would be taken care of. One would not become proud as a consequence of being raised to the two honors, and a profession would be especially prepared with qualities suitable to its activity. When all this is taken into consideration it is evident that a pontiff cannot be bound or loosed by the secular power.

Direct application of these principles is then made to the question of Peter Mongus and his restoration to communion by the emperor.

These celebrated passages have frequently been commented upon. They are rather clear in themselves. They recognize that the two powers in the world are both from God. Distinct one from the other, each is supreme in its own sphere but subject to the sphere of the other. New in Gelasius is the idea that Christ as king and priest uniting the two powers in Himself consecrated them and ordained that henceforth they should be separate. Also new is the emphasis on the contrast between the two powers and on the mutual limitation of their functions. It is to be observed that while Gelasius in no way envisages any preoccupation of the priesthood with affairs of the civil power he does not exclude the civil authority from participating in ecclesiastical matters providing that such participation take place under the direction of the Church.

As for Gelasius' success in his own time,[70] he failed utterly in his efforts to make the emperor heed and to put an end to the schism. Both Caspar and Haller, who do not conceal a certain admiration for him, find him harsh and arrogant. Most of the sharpness attributed to him, even that which Duchesne points out, is to be found in letters which do not seem to be authentic. His legitimate restrictions on the powers of the State do not scandalize those accustomed to democratic institutions as much as they did the German scholars mentioned above. Haller finds it grotesque that this *Rumpfpatriarch,* who by the whole East was considered to be outside the Church, should feel himself alone entitled to speak for the Church.[71] Aside from exaggeration as regards the rejection of Roman claims by the East, Haller's views are distorted by the idea of *Macht* that to him motivates the papacy. As a matter of fact Gelasius was not battling for mere power. Whether his followers were few or many, the pope was fighting heresy in the East and the emperor was abetting it, meddling in ecclesiastical affairs without due authorization.

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[70] The influence of the teaching of Gelasius through the ages deserves thorough study. It should be observed that despite its clarity it has at times been perverted. His teaching on the kingship of Christ was to be cited centuries later by canonists to prove that the secular authority is derived from the Church. It is evident how foreign this was to his thought. Father Parsons will, it is to be hoped, publish a study on this point as a continuation of his article cited above. In the modern period the words of Gelasius were used to prove the tenets of political Gallicanism. It was argued that he made Church and State mutually quite independent, i. e., that the temporal sovereign does not have to account to the Church for his acts, whatever they may be. Bossuet's posthumous *Defensio declarationis cleri Gallicani,* which may have been tampered with by unscrupulous editors, takes this point of view. In it Gelasius is frequently quoted, his words modified, and wrongly interpreted. For references, cf. G. de Lagarde, *La naissance de l'esprit laïque,* I (Saint Paul-Trois Chateaux, 1934), pp. 49, 53.

A well known episode in the history of Gelasius throws light upon his character as well as upon the lofty position of the papacy in his time. If the pope was unrelenting toward unrepentant heresy, he had a heart for the penitent. Of the two legates of the papacy who had years before been seduced by Acacius and consorted with heretics, one, Vitalis, had died. The other, Misenus, an old man in 495, feeling that his end was near begged Pope Gelasius for absolution. He did not ask to be restored to his episcopal see, only to be permitted to die reconciled with the Church. His case was taken up before a synod in Rome on March 13, 495. An account of the proceedings has come down in a report of the notary Sixtus.[72] Misenus made his petition and the assembled bishops interceded for him. Gelasius began a discourse directed especially to the erring Greeks. The two legates had been excommunicated until such a time as the heretics in the East would return to orthodoxy. The Church had not anticipated that the time would be so long. Might the Orientals, who had not been moved by the penalty on these men, be encouraged to return to salvation by the clemency about to be shown. Even Acacius would have received pardon had he asked it while he lived. The excommunication was lifted from Misenus, and quite beyond his petition he was restored to his episcopal office. Thereupon all the bishops and priests arose in the synod and acclaimed:

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[71] Johannes Haller, *Das Papsttum,* I, 217. The letter supposed to have been sent by Gelasius to Bishop Rusticus of Lyons (J K, 634: Thiel, *Ep.* 13, p. 359) speaks of the suffering and anxiety which the schism of Acacius caused the Holy See and the determination of the pope to bear up under the trial. The letter is one of the forgeries of Vignier detected by J. Havet (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes,* 46 [1885], 254 ff.). It is still cited as genuine by Haller (I, 216) and Bardy (Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'église,* IV, 307). H. Rahner, *Die gefälschten Papstbriefe aus dem Nachlass von Jerome Vignier* (Freiburg i. Br., 1935) confirms Havet's findings.

[72] *Avell.,* pp. 474-487, Thiel, *Ep.* 30, pp. 437 ff.

> Hear, O Christ: Life to Gelasius (fifteen times). Lord Peter, do you preserve him (twelve times). May you reach the years of him whose see you hold (seven times). We look upon you as the vicar of Christ (eleven times). We look upon you as the Apostle Peter (six times). May you reach the years of him whose see you hold (thirty-seven times).

The filial wishes of the bishops were not fulfilled. Pope Gelasius died the next year. His invitation to the East went unheeded, his admonitions fell on deaf ears. But the pontiff had written words not for that one emergency—he had laid down a doctrine for the ages. It was destined to be quoted again and again for the guidance of Church and State. Nations and churches that have refused to be taught by it have not escaped the penalty.

ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER

MISCELLANY

FLORENTINE INFLUENCE AT AVIGNON IN 1365

It is a well-known fact that the dynastic-matrimonial schemes of Emperor Charles IV reached their high point in 1365.[1] In that year, he succeeded in breaking up a marriage planned between Elizabeth, niece and heiress of Louis I of Hungary, whose betrothal to his son Wenceslaus he prepared in the same year, and Albert III of Austria, who was wedded forthwith to a daughter of the Emperor.

The story of these intrigues has repeatedly been told in all detail. E. Werunsky [2] as well as S. Steinherz,[3] followed by the Hungarian historians A. Pór [4] and V. Franknói,[5] laid due stress upon the pressure which Charles IV brought to bear upon Urban V on a personal visit to Avignon in May, 1365, a chief aim of which is said to have been preventing the alliance between the Duke of Austria and the King of Hungary.

Indeed, on May 23, the very day of arrival of the Emperor, the Pope sent letters to King Louis and his wife, refusing to grant the papal dispensation requested, and prohibiting the marriage of Elizabeth and Albert under penalty of excommunication; [6] at the same time, the Pope ordered the archbishop-primate of Hungary to notify the royal councillors of the papal decision as well as of the threat of excommunication and interdict. Soon thereafter, on June 2, the day of the departure of the Emperor, the Pope sent another letter to King Louis, urging him to marry his niece to Prince Philip of Burgundy. On the same day, the Pope addressed letters of similar content to Queen Elizabeth of Hungary and to eight Hungarian bishops and high dignitaries. The proposal of the Pope was not favorably received by the Hungarian court, which five months later preferred to accept the offer of the Emperor to betroth his son to the heiress of Hungary.

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[1] J. Pfitzner, "Kaiser Karl IV," *Deutsche Könige und Kaiser,* XIV (Potsdam, 1938), p. 84.

[2] *Geschichte Kaiser Karls IV. und seiner Zeit* (Innsbruck, 1892), III, 323 f.

[3] "Die Beziehungen Ludwigs I. von Ungarn zu Karl IV.," *Mittheilungen des Instituts für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung,* IX (1888), 560 f.

[4] *A Magyar Nemzet Története,* Budapest, 1895, III, 288, 302, and in greater detail, "István Ur Árvája," *Századok,* XXXV (1901), 97-115, 193-208.

[5] *Magyarország Egyházi és Politikai Összeköttetései a Római Szent-Székkel,* Budapest, 1901, III, 247 f., and "Nagy Lajos Házassági Politikája," *Budapesti Szemle,* CLIII (1913), 23 ff.

[6] The papal letters are most conveniently found in P. Lecacheux, "Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V (1362-1370)," *Bibl. des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome,* 3e Série, No. 5, 1906, p. 308.

R. Delachenal,[7] recounting the imperial visit in Avignon, agrees with Werunsky and Steinherz on all points, excepting some of the motives of Charles IV. He questions whether the latter was actually thinking of his son in connection with the Hungarian princess. "When the Emperor came to Avignon, he wished above all to wreck the plan of the Austrian marriage, and in order to succeed, he instigated someone to sue for Elizabeth's hand; this suitor was none other but his nephew, the Duke of Burgundy."

This hypothesis of Charles IV as the master mind behind the idea of an alliance between the French and the Hungarian dynasties contradicts Delachenal's own findings on the imperial attitude toward the Valois. He states himself that Charles disappointed his French kin, toward whom he bore no good will, and whose influence he fought wherever he could.[8] Delachenal contradicts Werunsky, who found that the Pope was now acting "without being influenced by the Emperor",[9] who would not have been pleased with this marriage either. A different explanation of the papal proposal was offered by A. Pór, who, following Werunsky, surmised that the Pope was acting without knowledge of the Emperor, and wished to please the Hungarian "patriots" who would have preferred a French or an Italian ruler to a German or Czech.[10]

The fact that Florence, too, was opposed to an Austro-Hungarian alliance was noticed by Steinherz, who, in a footnote, referred to an article by G. Canestrini.[11] The latter, without giving the date of the document, quoted from it one sentence, voicing the protest of the Republic against the marriage.

Yet this document, which throws a singular light upon the story of this matrimonial intrigue, had been published in its entirety fourteen years prior to the important article of Steinherz, which served as a starting point to all future writers on this subject. To be sure, it appeared in a volume which necessarily escaped the attention of students of political history, and in which no one would have looked for it.

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[7] *Histoire de Charles V* (Paris, 1916), III, 219 f.

[8] *Op. cit.*, III, 207 f.

[9] *Op. cit.*, III, 324.

[10] "István Ur Árvája," *Századok,* XXXV (1901), 109, 107.

[11] *Archivio Storico Italiano, Appendice,* VII (1849), 353-354.

Marked Classe X, Distinzione I., Numero 12., p. 38b and 39a, of State Archives of Florence,[12] it was printed without any comment in a miscellaneous volume of inedited writings of Petrarch,[13] under the title *Instruzione de' Fiorentini a maestro Rinaldo da Romena professore in sacra Teologia perchè in corte del papa vedesse modo di sciogliere gli sponsali d'un principe d'Austria, e s'adoperasse presso al pontefice che a M. Francesco Petrarca fosse conferito il primo canonicato vacante in Firenze*. Maestro Rinaldo was to transmit these instructions to the Bishop of Florence, who was at that time in Avignon. Their nature demanded secrecy, and Maestro Rinaldo was ordered to keep absolutely silent about them.

The very beginning of the Instructions introduces a new and surprising element into the situation. The Republic asserts that the King of Hungary consented to the marriage in question "at a time when the said King was perhaps induced to do so by necessity, and from what we hear, it now appears that this King would be pleased if he had not made the promise; and if he were able to break it honorably, we hear from a trustworthy person that he would gladly do so, and would be pleased if the matter (i.e. the fulfilment of his promise) were prevented by some one else." It will be well to recall that Princess Elizabeth had been engaged as early as 1356 to Iodocus of Moravia, nephew of Charles IV, and that this pledge was renewed in 1361; it was broken in 1362 by King Louis, who now promised the hand of the young princess to Duke Albert of Austria, younger brother of Rudolph IV. This new engagement was to compensate Rudolph for his alliance with Louis directed against the Emperor, which came to an abrupt end when Louis and Charles IV unexpectedly made peace in 1364. Thus it is not impossible that Louis, who had as much bickering and disappointment with the Habsburgs as with the Emperor, was not too eager actually to fulfil his side of the bargain.

The Instructions then go on to stress the danger that an alliance of the Duke of Austria with the heiress of Hungary would mean to Italy. Through this bond, the Duke of Austria would be in line of succession to the kingdom of Italy, the Hungarian royal family being descendants of Charles Martel. This would be a menace to the "Catholic Guelph party and to those parts of Italy which His Holiness must care for (*prevedere e provedere*) . . . The princes of Germany are generally speaking imperial, and have held Holy Church in little respect or have had little love for the land of Italy. . . ."

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[12] Dated March 30, 1365; P. Lecacheux, *op. cit.*, p. 286 f., mentions March 31 as the date on which further instructions were given by the Republic concerning the Austro-Hungarian marriage; but unfortunately Lecacheux seems to have no further knowledge of these instructions.

[13] *Scritti Inediti di Francesco Petrarca*, pubblicati ed illustrati da Attilio Hortis (Trieste, 1874), pp. 305-308.

If the marriage is not to take place, the Bishop ought to say nothing to the Pope; but if he deems necessary that either he or Maestro Rinaldo should speak secretly with the Pope, " then, following the Bishop's advice, you will speak to the Pope, telling him of the aforesaid perils, and showing him that the said girl ought to be wedded rather to one of the princes of France or Apulia or to another devotee of Holy Church than to a German."

Thus, the Instructions clear up all doubts as to who was the motive power moving the Pope to propose an alliance between the Valois and the Hungarian Anjous.[14] The close relations of Urban V with the Valois are common knowledge; [15] he had tried several times to arrange a suitable marriage for Philip of Burgundy,[16] and knew of Philip's desire to marry Marguerite, the widow of Philip de Rouvre, the deceased Duke of Burgundy. Charles V of France consented to the Pope's proposal not because of the Emperor's stand on the Franco-Hungarian alliance as Delachenal would have us believe,[17] but because the prospects of Philip, owing to the opposition of her father and of the cities of Flanders, did not seem promising with Marguerite at this time.[18]

But, although no one besides the Pope was in favor of a Valois-Anjou alliance, the Habsburg-Anjou match was off. Why it was opposed by Florence will be explained by Matteo Villani's chronicle. About 1358, the rumor spread all over northern and central Italy that Rudolph IV of Austria aspired to the kingship of Lombardy,[19] and the ambitious young duke actually demanded of the Emperor the Lombard crown. Charles IV opposed the demand for various reasons, and the Electors turned down Rudolph's request in 1359.[20] The rumors, however, persisted, and caused a commotion, particularly in Romagna and Tuscany which were afraid that they might fall under the domination of the Duke. According to Matteo

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[14] According to B. Hóman, " Gli Angioini di Napoli in Ungheria," Versione dall'ungherese di L. Zambra e R. Mosca, *Reale Accademia d'Italia, Studi e Documenti*, VIII (1938), 390, Albert of Austria broke the engagement with Elizabeth, " yielding to the desire of the Emperor."

[15] Cf. M. Prou, " Relations politiques du Pape Urbain V avec les rois de France Jean II et Charles V," *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences philologiques et historiques*, LXXVI (1888).

[16] O. Cartellieri, *Geschichte der Herzöge von Burgund* (Leipzig, 1910), I, 8.

[17] *Op. cit.*, III, 220.

[18] Barante, *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*, 5th end. (Paris, 1837), I, 125.

[19] E. K. Winter, " Rudolph IV. von Österreich," *Wiener Soziologische Studien* 2 (1934), I, 293.

[20] E. Werunsky, *op. cit.*, III, 214.

Villani, "the word tyrant was awful to free peoples, and principally to those of Tuscany, and was not acceptable; yet, the said Duke made and declared himself King of Lombardy . . . this was heard in Italy not without great fear," and lords and communes allied themselves against Rudolph.[21]

The episode probably had no grave consequences in the political development of southeastern Europe. If a few years later Louis I had not had direct descendants, its consequences might have been far-reaching, for it could have postponed by seventy years the acquisition of Hungary by the Habsburgs. Under the circumstances, however, Charles IV achieved his goal. Although Elizabeth did not actually marry Wenceslaus, the Luxemburgs obtained Hungary through a marriage of Charles IV's younger son Sigismund to a daughter of Louis I in 1387.

ARPAD STEINER

ST. VINCENT DE PAUL'S LETTERS ON JANSENISM

While the name of St. Vincent de Paul is generally associated with works of charity, his labors in defending the doctrinal truths of the Catholic Church,[1] while perhaps not so well known as the former, nevertheless form a most important part of his vast achievements.

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[21] *Cronica,* VIII, 98 (Florence, 1825), IV, 132.

[1] Many historians mistakenly dispose of the Jansenist controversy of the 17th century as a dispute between Jesuits and Jansenists. They attribute as an underlying cause of the trouble the desire of the Society of Jesus to make the path to salvation easier for the average penitent by a lax application of Christian principles. The Jansenists on the other hand declared that they were seeking the restoration of the virtues and principles of primitive Christianity. The Jesuits "humanized the all-important doctrine of Grace, making it something which might be achieved by effort; rather than restrict themselves to any definite ethical code."—(Cf. David Ogg, *Europe in the 17th Century,* New York: Macmillan, 1938, 342). This is typical of the pseudo-historical claptrap which glosses over Jansenist error and pillories the Jesuits for the unpardonable sin of defending Catholic truth.

As a matter of fact, the Jesuits were not the only clergy who saw the grave errors in Jansenism. Vincent de Paul was one of the great leaders in the movement which was organized against the Jansenists. While many theologians of the Sorbonne were opposed to any action on the part of Vincent to seek the condemnation of Jansenism, it is interesting to note that the majority of the representatives of the French secular clergy, who had met in a general assembly in Paris during May, 1650, declared with the Saint that these doctrines were dangerous and agreed that a petition should be sent to the Holy See, asking for their condemnation.

During a critical period St. Vincent was a champion of orthodoxy at the royal court itself. Soon after the death of Louis XIII in 1643, the Queen Regent, Anne of Austria, established a council to deal with the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom of France. Vincent was summoned to take his place at this Council of Conscience, as it came to be known, and indeed no episode of his career does him greater honor.

But it is chiefly in his voluminous correspondence that we discover his clear-sighted repudiation of Jansenism. Of the letters written by Vincent de Paul on Jansenism, only eighty-one are extant. Fifty-two of these were written during his ten-year period as a member of the above-mentioned council. It became necessary to oppose the policies of Cardinal Mazarin on numerous occasions. It was indeed Vincent's zeal for the good of the Church in France and his un-Gallican attachment to the Holy See that eventually led to his dismissal from this council after ten years of service.

While it is true that Vincent was an intimate friend of the Abbé de Saint-Cyran (Vergier de Haurranne), leader of the Jansenist movement in France until his death in 1643, nevertheless his untiring efforts to secure papal condemnation of their doctrines prompted Gerberon, one of the greatest Jansenist historians, to say that " he was one of the most dangerous enemies that the disciples of Saint Augustine [the Jansenists] have ever encountered," [2] and a distinguished theologian of the Sorbonne to declare that " just as God had raised up Saint Ignatius against Luther and Calvin, so did he raise up Monsieur Vincent against Jansenism." [3]

The letters quoted herein are typical of those written by the Saint on Jansenism. Although the greater part of Vincent's letters have been lost, we may safely assume that much of his correspondence, at least during the period of office on the Council of Conscience, dealt with these errors. While most of his life was given over to perhaps more practical things, he was always prepared to defend the doctrine of the Church. The Abbé Bremond says of him:

> Although the Jansenists generally considered him inept, he was not less intellectual than the great Arnauld; less bookish certainly . . . but more serious, keener, more large-minded and elevated. . . . His letters against Arnauld's *Fréquente Communion* are evidence of this. Volumes have been written on this subject, but Vincent de Paul . . . says everything with a vigorous logic, clear-sightedness, and irony, that are quite remarkable.[4]

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[2] Dom Gabriel Gerberon, *Histoire générale du Jansénisme*, 1700, 3 t., I, 422 (quoted in Pierre Coste, *Saint Vincent de Paul, Correspondence, Entretiens, Documents*, III, 358, Paris, Gabalda, 1920-1925. 14 vols.)

[3] Evidence given at beatification of Vincent de Paul (cf. Coste, *op. cit.*, XIII, 407).

[4] Henri Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France*, III, 204 (Paris, Bloud et Gay, 1925).

Taking cognizance of the spread of Jansenism, Vincent was anxious to have orthodox professors in the Sorbonne. In 1646 he wrote to Mazarin, urging him to act and arguing that "the advantages thereby accruing to the Church are that Your Eminence would prevent these opinions from being taught openly in the Sorbonne."[5]

The publication of Antoine Arnauld's popular *De la fréquente communion* marked the beginning of Vincent's active participation in the work of having Jansenism condemned by the Pope. On May 2, 1647, he wrote:

> The new opinions are causing such havoc that it seems as if half the world has succumbed to them. . . . What should we not do to rescue the Spouse of Jesus Christ from this shipwreck![6]

In 1648 he assembled at his central house in Paris a notable company of theologians, including the canon penitentiary of Paris and the dean of the Sorbonne faculty of theology for the purpose of drawing up plans for action. While a plan of campaign was doubtless drawn up, there is no documentary evidence extant giving details.

The result of this meeting was that five propositions embodying Jansenist doctrine were retained out of several that had been deemed as worthy of censure. Practically every theologian on the Sorbonne faculty was violently opposed to taking any action concerning these propositions. Finding no co-operation from that quarter, save the two theologians mentioned above, Vincent and his colleagues turned to the representatives of the clergy of France who held a general assembly in May, 1650. To their joy they met with ample support. It was then decided that a petition to the Holy See should be drawn up and submitted to the bishops of France for their signatures. It was hoped that Innocent X would make an official pronouncement concerning them and thus put a speedy end to the spread of the errors.

The difficult task of securing the signatures was left to Vincent, who at once sought and obtained the aid of Père Dinet, S.J., former confessor to the late king and a staunch defender of orthodoxy. In a circular letter sent by the Saint, he invited the bishops to join forces with those who were seeking the condemnation. The text of this letter was first published by Abelly, Vincent's first biographer.

FEBRUARY, 1651.

To the Bishops of France:

> The evil results produced by certain contemporary opinions have induced a considerable number of their Lordships, the Bishops of the Kingdom, to write to our Holy Father the Pope, begging him to pronounce

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[5] Joseph Leonard, *Letters of St. Vincent de Paul*, p. 235 (London: Burns Oates, 1937).

[6] Coste, *Saint Vincent de Paul*, III, 183.

> on these doctrines. The special reasons which have led them to do so are: first, that they hope by means of this remedy that many will hold fast to the common opinions, who without it, might be led astray. . . . second, that the evil is multiplying rapidly because it seems to be tolerated; third, that it is thought at Rome that the majority of their Lordships, the Bishops of France, hold these new opinions, and it is important to let it be seen that very few do so; fourth and last, that such conduct is in conformity with the Holy Council of Trent, which desires that if opinions contrary to matters on which the Council has decided should arise, recourse should be had to the Sovereign Pontiff for his decision. This My Lord is the general desire as you may see from the enclosed letter which I am sending you, trusting that you will sign it. . . .[7]

Owing largely to the indefatigable zeal of Vincent, ninety bishops signed the petition. Several members of the French hierarchy refused to sign the document. The bishops of Pamiers and Alet respectively in a joint letter took occasion to rebuke the Saint because of his "ill timed desire" that the Holy Father make an official pronouncement. They maintained that "a decision on the part of the Pope would do no good and that the best remedy would be the summoning of a General Council."[8]

This letter came as a surprise to Vincent, as both these prelates were close friends. Placing this fact aside, he sat down to refute their objections. In a letter addressed to them, defending his action he wrote:

> When the Lutheran and Calvinist heresies made their appearance, if the Church had waited to condemn them until the members of these sects seemed prepared to submit and to be reunited, then these heresies would have remained matters of indifference that could either be followed or not as the case might be, and they would have infected more persons than they have actually done. . . . To allege that it is wiser for the Church to abstain from condemning heretics which she fears may disobey her is simply to say that she should leave the field open to all forms of heresy; what would be the ultimate result to the Church of such a principle? . . .[9]

These bishops had expressed a wish to Vincent that union between the two parties should be effected on a basis of reciprocal concessions. Vincent replied in a letter that it would be impossible, as "error must yield to truth and not be mingled with it".[10] He informed them that a general council would be impossible and that a pronouncement from the Pope was necessary.

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[7] Louis Abelly, *La Vie de Saint Vincent de Paul*, II, 418 (Paris, Gaume, 1891, 3 vols.) (Cf. Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 254.)

[8] Coste, *Life and Labours of Saint Vincent de Paul*, III, 155. (*Monsieur Vincent: Le grand saint du grand siècle*, trans. from French by Joseph Leonard, C.M., 3 vols., London: Burns Oates, 1934.)

[9] *Ibid.*, III, 156.

[10] Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

> If they [the Jansenists] thought a Council could possibly be held, they would reject it just the same as they reject the other proposal. The very fact of division among the bishops goes to show the need of the Pope's being informed on this matter, for he is the Head of the Church and therefore the Superior of the Bishops.[11]

Vincent concludes this letter by warning the above-mentioned bishops of the gravity of the situation.

> Those who profess these doctrines, seeing that their threats have aroused consternation, are now increasing their resistance and plan a vigorous rebellion. They are making use of your silence as a powerful argument in their favor and have even boasted that you share their views, whilst, on the other hand, those who stand fast in the simplicity of the ancient faith, are growing weak and discouraged, seeing that they are not being universally supported.[12]

Despite the work of the Saint in urging various recalcitrant bishops to sign the petition, some of them were obdurate in their refusal. Nivelle, Bishop of Luçon, did not condescend to reply to his letter. Vincent, far from abandoning his efforts, sent a second letter, together with a second copy of the petition. After stating the general reasons for the need of episcopal uniformity in combating Jansenism, he wrote:

> It is a question of the glory of God and of the peace of Church and State. . . . Divisions are being caused in families, cities and the Universities; it is a fire that burns more fiercely every day, injuring men's minds and threatening the Church with irreparable desolation, if not promptly remedied. . . . What efforts should not be made to extinguish this conflagration? Who would not grapple with this little monster that is beginning to ravage the Church and that will ultimately bring desolation on her if not stifled at its birth? What would not all these courageous and holy bishops now living wish to have done, if they had been alive in Calvin's time? [13]

Despite some inevitable disappointments, Vincent and his colleague, Père Dinet, were able to rejoice over the success of the measures they had adopted. Despite the pressure of Jansenist sympathizers, by April 12, 1651, the signatures of all but twelve of the French bishops had been placed on the petition to Innocent X, asking His Holiness to condemn the errors so widely propagated by the Jansenists.

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[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[13] Coste, *Saint Vincent de Paul*, IV, 175.

A delegation of orthodox members of the Sorbonne theological faculty was sent to Rome with the petition. Vincent was instrumental in providing for this delegation, and in a letter of instruction to Hallier, the head of the delegates, he urged them to do all possible to procure the condemnation:

> I ask you to contribute in as far as in you lies because God's interests are at stake in the work of His best servants, who are now occupied with the negotiation of a matter of supreme importance. . . . We will strive here to help you by our prayers and by soliciting the Court to provide more letters which will be forwarded to you.[14]

Vincent was kept thoroughly informed of all that was taking place in Rome. He in turn continued to keep in touch with Hallier. In one of the few letters extant on this particular period, he wrote:

> The delegation should make it clear to the Roman authorities that all on the anti-Jansenist side are quite disposed to submit to the judgment of His Holiness, no matter what rumors the Jansenists may spread to the contrary. . . . [15]

Following more than a year's negotiations, Pope Innocent X on May 31, 1653, issued the Bull *Cum Occasione,* condemning the Five Propositions. As soon as Vincent learned of this, he called the members of his community together and invited them to rejoice at the good news, saying:

> Although God gave me the grace to discern truth from error, even before the definition of the Holy Apostolic See, nevertheless I have not experienced any feeling of vain complacency or vain joy because my judgment happened to be in conformity with that of the Church, for I fully recognized that this is an effect of the pure mercy of God, for which I am bound to render Him all the glory.[16]

After the year 1653, Vincent was no longer a member of the Council of Conscience and hence did not consider himself officially bound to engage actively in the disputes over Jansenism, which, to his intense grief, were not to die out with the issuance of the bull of papal condemnation. However, he did not remain passive but continued his work along somewhat different lines. He confined his efforts to the role of peacemaker, especially doing everything in his power towards preventing Jansenistic doctrine and practices from creeping into the two communities which he had founded. He was determined that there would be no heresy among the members of the Congregation of the Mission and wrote many letters urging local superiors to be most vigilant in this matter.

[14] Leonard, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261.

[15] Coste, *Life and Labours,* III, 161.

[16] *Ibid.*, III, 162.

One of the most noteworthy letters written by St. Vincent on Jansenism was that to M. Dehorgny, superior of the Congregation of the Mission in Rome. This priest had been won over to the Jansenist cause through Arnauld's book, *De la fréquente communion.* Considering that this correspondence took place in 1648, five years before the condemnation of Innocent X, Vincent's crusade for orthodoxy becomes particularly significant. In a letter to the Saint, Dehorgny defended the book, saying that "if criticism had been directed against it, it came from persons who had not really understood its teachings."[17] Vincent in an immediate rejoinder wrote:

> . . . You tell me that this matter is concerned with Jansen's book, *On Frequent Communion.* . . . A perusal of this book, instead of inclining men's affections to love of frequent Communion, rather repels them from it. No longer do we see persons frequenting the Sacraments, not even at Easter, in the way they formerly did. . . .
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> And . . . as to the necessity of allowing every member of the Company [Congregation of the Mission] to believe what he likes in these matters, it is not expedient that contrary opinions be maintained in the Company. . . . And in case anyone should not wish to defer, it would be better for him to withdraw from the Company, and for the Company to request him to do so.[18]

Shortly after this letter was dispatched to Rome, Vincent again wrote to the same superior:

> Now the conclusion to be drawn from all this is that this new reformer intends to keep both clergy and laity away from the altar, solely under the specious pretence of doing penance. . . . Assuredly, those who read his [Arnauld's] book and do not observe this design behind it, are to be numbered amongst those of whom the prophet speaks: *Oculos habent et non videbunt.*[19]

It may be added that these letters had the desired effect, for we read that "Father Dehorgny accepted the Saint's explanations; he spent a holy life in the Congregation. . . .[20]

Perhaps there is no phase in St. Vincent's life which better reveals the true nobility of his character, his foresight, and his profound grasp of the essentials and practical consequences of the great dogmas of the Christian religion than his policy and line of conduct towards Jansenism and its adherents. Certainly Vincent, looking back over the many long years of crusading against one of the most damaging and insidious of all heresies, was able to thank God

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[17] Coste, *Life and Labours,* III, 169.

[18] Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

[20] Coste, *Life and Labours,* III, 170.

> because He had given the grace to the . . . Company of the Mission not to find itself enveloped in the errors of "these gentlemen". . . . In default of the common (universal) peace, he had preserved the peace of the Congregation of the Mission during the long Jansenist dispute. He had safeguarded the piety of the ecclesiastics who sought through him the reform of their lives. He had acted without rudeness in his tranquil and virile manner.[21]

The Jansenists have never forgiven Vincent for the prominent part which he played in securing the condemnation of their doctrines. They showed this much more clearly after his death than during his lifetime by their violent attacks on the biography of which Abelly[22] was the author, and by their many attempts to prevent his beatification and canonization.[23]

Section thirty-two of the Bull *Superna Jerusalem,* issued on the day of Vincent's canonization, gives the official approbation of the Church for his great work against Jansenism. Pope Clement XII herein referred to the Saint as *strenuus fidei defensor, haeresis jansenianae damnationem promovet*[24] "an ardent defender of the faith, he promoted the condemnation of Jansenism."

BERNARD J. MCCOY

CARDINAL GIBBONS ON THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE

The following long communication from Cardinal Gibbons was discovered in the Archdiocesan Archives of Baltimore through the aid of the Very Reverend F. Joseph Manns and the Reverend John Duggan of the cathedral. It has never been published previously, although it was printed and sent at the time to all the members of the Hierarchy.

There are, of course, other documents bearing upon this matter, and these will no doubt be published in due course. But here we have a paper whose fundamental importance will at once be recognised, for in it the plan of operations of the National Catholic Welfare Conference is outlined in masterly fashion. Some departments of activity have since then been added, as more will be added as time goes on—the work of the Conference being capable of great extension. On the other hand, the projection of a literary bureau has not as yet come into being, though the Cardinal clearly regarded it as one of the prime necessities of the organization he had in mind, and in whose foundation he played so great a part. For the rest, the letter speaks for itself.

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[21] Louis Deplanque, *Saint Vincent de Paul,* p. 393 (Paris, Bloud et Gay, 1936).

[22] Abelly's work was attacked by Baros, Saint-Cyran's nephew. (Cf. Coste, *Life and Works,* III, 180, in footnote.)

[23] Coste, *ibid.*, p. 180.

[24] *Acta Apostolica in gratiam Congregationis Missionis,* p. 127 (Parisiis: Georges Chamerot, 1876).

THEODORE MAYNARD

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
408 NORTH CHARLES STREET
BALTIMORE

May 5, 1919

RIGHT REVEREND P. J. MULDOON, D.D.
RIGHT REVEREND J. SCHREMBS, D.D.
RIGHT REVEREND J. S. GLASS, C.M., D.D.
RIGHT REVEREND W. T. RUSSELL, D.D.

General Committee on Catholic Interests and Affairs.[1]

Right Reverend and dear Bishops:—

As the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council is to meet this week in New York, I ask its members to convene separately also as "The General Committee on Catholic Interests and Affairs." I cannot be present but I ask Bishop Muldoon to act as chairman in my place. Archbishop Hayes, on account of his pressing new duties, has resigned from the Administrative Committee. I requested Archbishop Hanna to suggest in his stead a bishop from the Far West. He proposed Bishop Glass of Salt Lake City, whom I very gladly appointed on the Administrative Committee and who will, consequently, serve with us on the General Committee on Catholic Interests and Affairs.

We all recognize, dear Bishops, the importance of the act now being accomplished, in pursuance of the suggestion of the Special Delegate of the Holy Father, Archbishop Cerretti. This suggestion I regard as a divine call to summon our best thought and maximum energy in order to organize and direct them for the kindling of religion in the hearts of the American people. Coming at this time it is providential; the formation of this Committee begins, I believe, a new era in our Church. A closely knit organization of the Hierarchy acting together in harmony promises, under God's guidance, the greatest extension and development of the influence of religion. No other Church in history, probably, had so grand an opportunity challenging it as we have at this moment. On us, and particularly on your younger minds and stronger arms, devolves the duty of surveying the field and planning the great work.

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[1] Baltimore Archdiocesan Archives, File 121, H 1.

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As I cannot be present at the first meeting to discuss with you the scope of the work, I beg to submit to your consideration some of my own thoughts and some suggestions made to me by members of the Hierarchy. I am not yet prepared myself to endorse all these suggestions, but coming from such esteemed sources, I pass them on to you as topics to be considered in the formation of plans.

The ordinary work of the Committee, as I conceive it, is to prepare for the meetings of the Hierarchy and to serve as an executive to carry out their decisions and wishes. It will necessarily be a clearing house for the general interests of the Church.

In planning this work, one may make various divisions of general "Catholic Interests and Affairs." I suggest the following, which is along practical rather than logical lines: 1. The Holy See. 2. Home Missions. 3. Foreign Missions. 4. Social and Charitable Work. 5. Catholic University. 6. Catholic Education in general. 7. Catholic Literature. 8. Catholic Press. 9. Legislation. 10. A Catholic Bureau. 11. Finances.

1. *The Holy See.* Archbishop Cerretti explained to us on the occasion of my Jubilee the pressing needs of the Holy See. The countries of Europe impoverished by war will be able to contribute little to the Holy Father. Yet, greater demands than ever before are being made upon the Holy See in behalf of the destitute and suffering in devastated lands, and for the maintenance of poor missions. "Rome," said His Excellency, "now looks to America to be the leader in all things Catholic, and to set an example to other nations." The Catholics of the United States are in a position today to manifest in a way that will give edification to the whole Church their generous loyalty to the Father of Christendom. The sum of money we may hope to raise and the best way to raise it are points to be considered under Number 11.

2. *Home Missions.* The end of the war finds the Church in this country in a stronger position than ever before. It is recognized more widely and more clearly as the one Church that knows its own mind, that has a message for society in its troubled state, and that is obeyed and loved by its people. The decay of other Churches will turn the thoughts of many towards us. The fine record of our chaplains in the army and navy has taught millions the real character of the Catholic clergy. Every bishop in his own diocese will try to reap the harvest which was sown during the war. But is it not possible for us to make larger plans? Cannot the mind of the American public be more effectively reached? Cannot the press spread Catholic truth, if the work be energetically undertaken under the direction of the Hierarchy? Some suggest a more active preaching campaign, of going out to the people since the vast millions fail to come to our churches. Many sections of our country have few Catholics and are

almost absolutely ignorant of Catholicism. What can we do for them? On the vast negro population, rapidly increasing in numbers and growing in education and influence, we have made almost no impression. Are our methods at fault or our zeal lacking? What can be done for all these souls? We have organizations in the Home Mission Field, Catholic Church Extension, the Missionary Union, the Negro and Indian Commission, and several others, all more or less under the control of the Hierarchy. Is closer co-operation among them possible? Would it be well to reconsider the whole problem of our Home Missions, which is, of course, the chief field of our duty? Would a conference of those most intimately concerned be advisable? This is a very large subject, of course, and requires long study and much thought, but I am confident that our bishops, missionaries, and the clergy in general are doing much valuable thinking along these lines, of which the whole Church should have the benefit. I am hopeful that a beginning will have been made before the next meeting of the Hierarchy.

3. *Foreign Missions*. Our enormous needs at home in this progressive country have so absorbed our thought and our zeal that we hardly have been able, till very recently, to turn our attention to foreign missions. The new position of our nation as the great world power will surely enlarge our vision. All over the world, America will have tremendous influence. Up to the present moment, we may say, that influence has been entirely non-Catholic. To the world in general, even to the Catholic world, American is synonymous with Protestant. The wonderful strength of the Church in this country is almost unknown to foreign lands. The reason is that the Church abroad has profited little by our strength and our riches. Now we cannot doubt that vocations in this field, both of men and of women, will be found in abundance, and it is our confident hope and prayer that God will use American zeal, energy, and organizing ability to give a great impulse to foreign missions. How can the Hierarchy aid in fostering the missionary spirit and in gathering the funds necessary for the work?

4. *Social and Charitable Work*. The Catholic War Council and the National Catholic Charities Conference have done most valuable pioneer work in this field. We are deeply indebted to the Administrative Committee for its timely guidance in the problems of this reconstructive period. Three things, in my opinion, are needed. First, the presentation, definite, clear and forceful, of Catholic social principles. Second, more knowledge as to the best methods of Catholic social and charitable work. Third, a more general impulse to put our social principles and methods into operation. Society never had greater need for guidance. It is turning for light to the Catholic Church. Too often, we must admit, our principles, the principles of the Gospel, have lain hidden in our theologies, so much so that the recent pamphlet on Social Reconstruction appeared to many a

complete novelty. The Church has a great work of social education and social welfare lying before it. Here, again, the Hierarchy must take the lead.

Hardly anything in recent years has reflected greater glory on the Church than the care of the moral welfare of our soldiers and sailors during the war—a work begun by the Knights of Columbus and perfected by the Hierarchy through its Committee of the National Catholic War Council. Buildings with their equipment are to be found in nearly all our Government forts and stations here and abroad. No one, I presume, would think that we should abandon this field of apostolic work. After the record we have made, it would be impossible for us to say to our men in the service: we leave you now to the care of the Y. M. C. A., the Jewish Welfare Board, and the Salvation Army. That these organizations propose to keep up the work begun during the war, there can be no doubt. Naturally, too, the Knights of Columbus do not wish to give up the work or to abandon the valuable property erected in Government stations and forts. This work can be best done by the Knights with the support of the Hierarchy, as a truly Catholic work. For the sake of our men in the service, for the spiritual welfare of the Knights of Columbus, and for the honor of the Church itself, this work then should continue to be under the direction of the Hierarchy.

The time will soon come, too, when we shall have to consider the best means of utilizing the zeal and good will of other Catholic societies, both of men and women, and of the laity in general. Our people long to be helpful and only need to have the way shown to them.

5. *Catholic University.* The great war has revealed to the world the all-penetrating influence of the highly trained intellect. The universal unrest of the day seems a prelude to very troubled times. Evil doctrines, propounded by clever minds, will have more and more influence. Great need, then, will the Church have of leaders with sure knowledge and well trained and well balanced minds. Our greatest single hope is in The Catholic University which in its short existence has already been of the greatest service in many ways that even the Catholic public, perhaps, is not aware of. After its many vicissitudes, it stands today upon a solid foundation. We have reason to be proud of it and its achievements. It is the child of the Hierarchy and depends for its support on the Hierarchy. Continually in the past its development has been stunted for lack of funds. If it is to obtain and hold its place among the leading universities of the United States, a greater interest in its welfare and success must be aroused among our Catholic people. It ought not to be difficult to double or treble, at least, the annual contribution. Our Committee should consider ways and means of effecting this.

A report on higher education among Catholics, relatively to the intellectual life of the country, is a great desideratum. It would reveal the need of greater efforts to raise our intellectual standards.

6. *Catholic Education.* Centralization in education is the trend of the day and seems due to the needs of the situation. What will be the outcome? How will Catholic interests be affected? There is no question at present on which light is more earnestly desired. It is, indeed, the most pressing of problems, the one on which we can least afford to delay. I beg you to have a careful treatment of this subject prepared and submitted to the judgment of the most expert.

A less pressing but even more important matter is the systematization of our own educational forces. There is great waste through lack of coordination. Do we not need more of system? Will not the very trend on our national life force us to study and overhaul our own educational structure?

7. *Catholic Literature.* We are not a literary Church, for our busy ministry has left little leisure for literary pursuits. Nevertheless our ministry would be greatly facilitated by the production and spread of good books and pamphlets. As a matter of fact it is greatly hampered now by lack of literature on the most common topics of the day, which would enlighten inquiries or strengthen the faith and deepen the piety of our own people. It has been suggested that a literary bureau, under the patronage of the Hierarchy, could easily secure writers to give us what is lacking. Is this feasible? Certainly there is a great deal of literary talent among us which a little stimulation would rouse to a very useful activity.

The various Catholic Truth Societies of the country might co-operate with greater effect, and be stirred to more productiveness. It would be easy to suggest many useful pamphlets that should be written. A greater circulation of those already in existence is desirable. A Catholic literary bureau would greatly aid both these projects.

Such a bureau could also enlist the services of able writers in preparing articles on Catholic subjects for the secular papers and magazines. It frequently happens that an attack more or less open is made on the Church in the secular magazines or papers. An answer is immediately forthcoming in our Catholic press. But who reads it? It reaches a limited number of our own people, but is unheard of by the world of non-Catholics who have read the attack in the secular press. Moreover, I submit that we should not forever continue to place ourselves in a merely apologetic, excusing, or defensive attitude. While not being offensively aggressive, should we not endeavor occasionally to secure a sympathetic hearing from our separated brethren by articles calculated to inform the non-Catholic public on Catholic teaching, practices, and endeavors? The world outside the Church is not maliciously antagonistic to us. Its opposition is due to misconceptions of the Church and her ambitions. We need to reach the non-Catholic world, and the most effective means by which it can be reached is the secular press.

8. *The Catholic Press.* The children of the world are wiser in their day than the children of light. Certainly, there is no comparison between the secular and the religious press, as regards the interest of the reading matter which each provides. The Catholic press has begun to imitate the secular press with its central news associations and bureaus for syndicated articles. Such associations and bureaus could raise the tone and heighten the interest of our weeklies. Up to the present time, the Hierarchy has taken no concerted action on behalf of the Catholic press. In view of the immense influence for good which a popular press could have on our people, it is worthy of inquiry whether we cannot come to its aid.

9. *Legislation.* There are many signs of increasing hostility to the Church and of a desire to translate this hostility into legislation, whether national or state. We have hardly had any policy at all in regard to such matters and frequently have only realized the intentions of our enemies when hostile laws were already enacted. The very success and growing strength of the Church will make our enemies double their hatred and their cunning. Most of the legislation hurtful to us, however, is passed without any thought of injuring us. What means should we take to know proposed measures of legislation and to prevent, if possible, what is harmful? If we take any step in this direction, although all Protestant Churches have representatives in Washington as all interests have, except ourselves, the cry will be raised that the Church is in politics; but that cry has been heard all our lives and in all generations back to the Sanhedrin that condemned Christ. It is a matter, however, which we must carefully consider and upon which the Hierarchy will desire a report.

10. *Catholic Bureau.* It is evident, at any rate, that the General Committee on Catholic Interests and Affairs will need headquarters and clerical assistance; otherwise it would be unable to realize the purpose of its creation. Steps should be taken before long to establish such a bureau.

11. *Finances.* Evidently, too, the plan of action which I have outlined postulates a generous financial support. Our expenses, however, in the campaign for funds during the last two years should make us realize, as we have never done before, our possibilities. I am bound to say, however, that I have not yet attained the confidence of some members of the Hierarchy in our ability to raise millions. At our meeting one distinguished archbishop suggested raising a million dollars for the Holy Father. Another bishop suggests four millions annually for all Catholic purposes,

and still another would set the mark at five millions. I am sure at any rate, dear bishops, that the Hierarchy would welcome the judgment which your own experience in the United War Work Campaign would lead you to form.

The foregoing plan, I must admit, is a very comprehensive one and furnishes almost enough matter of thought for a Plenary Council. It is a plan that perhaps cannot soon be realized in all its scope, yet I have thought it worth while to sketch the outline in full. Some of the ideas may be realized soon and others may be seed sown now which will sprout and bear fruit only after many years. I rely on your excellent practical judgment to select for our programme the most urgent matters and the most promising ideas, and I trust that when the Hierarchy meets next, our General Committee on Catholic Interests and Affairs will be able to present a workable plan of important things that ought soon to be accomplished.

I remain, my dear bishops,

Faithfully yours in Christ,

J. Card. Gibbons,
Chairman

BOOK REVIEWS

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

A History of the Expansion of Christianity. Volume IV. *The Great Century A. D. 1800–A. D. 1914. Europe and the United States of America*. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1941. Pp. viii, 516. $3.50.)

With the volume under review Professor Latourette has completed the fourth of his projected seven volume survey of the expansion of Christianity. The present work, as the title indicates, is a history of missionary Christianity from the opening of the nineteenth century to 1914. The succeeding volumes are to cover Latin-America, Australasia, Asia, and Negro Africa. Volume IV is largely the history of the Christian expansion in the United States with nearly 300 of the 462 pages of the text devoted to this country. The first five chapters, comprising 175 pages, are allotted to the new movements within European Christianity.

Scholars have paid high tribute to the earlier volumes of Professor Latourette (cf. *Catholic Historical Review,* XXVI, 102-103) and justly so, for the author's talent for synthesis, general fairness of judgment, fidelity to sources, and industry have produced a work of which American historical scholarship may rightly be proud. Repeatedly within the present work Professor Latourette protests his regret because of omissions and sketchy accounts of various movements. Any reader may easily understand the difficulty under which he labored in trying to compress so vast an amount of material within the covers of a normal-sized book. Surveys of this kind inevitably bring pain to an author when he must drop interesting and worthwhile material for lack of space. Consequently the reader is compelled to keep this in mind when reading this work. The author could not include everything which readers might think pertinent.

However, to Catholic scholars some omissions will be a disappointment. For example, to find in a discussion of over five pages given to the efforts of religious education in this country that only two sentences are allotted to the widespread and significant contributions made by Catholics to religious education is, to say the least, an understatement (pp. 375-380). Again in his treatment of institutions of charity reared under Christian auspices in the United States, the Catholic effort is given only passing notice, whereas the figures quoted from the *Catholic Directory* (p. 409, n. 154) are such as to demonstrate the superiority of numbers, investment, and effort in the Catholic institutions of charity as contrasted with those under Protestant care.

On matters of interpretation Professor Latourette reveals an obvious effort to be fair to all Christian groups handled in his story. To a few statements, however, Catholic historians will take exception. For example, Catholics—and this includes scholars of international reputation as well—believe that the supernatural phenomena which occurred at Lourdes beginning on February 11, 1858 constituted more than "reports of the appearance of the Virgin Mary" (p. 27). Nor will Catholics subscribe to the statement that Leo XIII and other popes of this period "discouraged any creative thinking which would do what Aquinas had done for his age" (p. 28). Nor will the author's parallel between the growth of new religious orders within the Catholic Church and the rise of new sects within Protestantism stand, for all these religious societies within Catholicism retained one spiritual authority and one creed (p. 41). Lastly among such points, Professor Latourette can hardly expect Catholics to accept his statement that nineteenth century liberalism, even though inimical to the Church, "gave to that church an opportunity for life and for growth" (p. 29). An investigation, for example, of the state of the Church in Sardinia under Cavour or in France under Combes, should convince anyone that the liberals gave her a chance to do one thing above all else and that was to extinguish herself.

Professor Latourette has shown a surprisingly low percentage of slips in a work of so ambitious a scope. One might suggest the following minor points. The Russian grant of toleration is given as 1906 (p. 126) and 1905 (p. 127). The date of the potato famine in Ireland was earlier than 1847 (p. 225). The Catholic Church has always encouraged and favored the conversion of the non-Catholic party to a mixed marriage, but she has not regarded "such marriages [as] not permissible unless the non-Roman Catholic became a Roman Catholic" (p. 253). Any discussion of funds created for educational purposes among the Negroes which omits mention of Mother Drexel's benefactions suffers from a serious omission (pp. 361-362). An acquaintance with the work of Mother Drexel in furnishing the major portion of the endowment for Xavier University in New Orleans would correct such an oversight, to say nothing of that lady's numerous financial grants to Negro education elsewhere.

One of the features of surpassing value in Professor Latourette's volume is the splendid bibliography of over thirty pages. In that bibliography due recognition has been given to the works of Professor Guilday and the monograph series edited by him at the Catholic University of America. It might be mentioned, however, that James MacCaffrey's two volumes on the *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* is a more trustworthy guide on the history of the papacy than that of Nippold. Likewise one does not find any mention or use of the scholarly works of Professor Castañada of the University of Texas on the history of Catholicism in the Southwest, nor the fine monographs of the Jesuit historians, Fathers Dunne, Shiels, and Jacobensen on the beginnings of Catholicism in what is today the far western United States. A volume of real value for the study, R. P. Perbal, O.M.I., *Les Missionnaires français et le Nationalisme* (Paris, 1939) would likewise have been of genuine service in tracing the story of the French Catholic missionary efforts of the nineteenth century.

The above strictures are intended in no spirit of carping criticism. The reviewer wishes to repeat what he has said above, namely that all scholars of whatever religious faith are greatly in Professor Latourette's debt. The points raised above are meant solely to be helpful in presenting the attitude of one Catholic who read and profited from the book in no small measure. The reviewer noted only two misprints: on page 378 one should read " begun " for " began ", and on the contents page " 463 " for " 493 ".

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

Catholic University of America

Cradle Days of St. Mary's at Natchez. By ✠ R. O. GEROW. (Natchez: Hope Haven Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 302.)

This is an interesting and carefully documented account of Catholicism in Natchez from the accession of Mississippi to the United States in 1798 to the transfer in 1880 of Bishop Elder from the see of Natchez to the coadjutorship of Cincinnati. During the period 1841-1880 three bishops, Chanche, Van de Velde, and Elder ruled the Church in Mississippi. The French and Spanish periods of Catholicism in Natchez find no place in the present narrative, having been dealt with by Shea and other historians (Preface, vi). The source material available to the author for his purpose was both abundant and valuable, including, among other items, church registers, the minutes (1821-1861) of the Roman Catholic Society of Natchez and its Vicinity, under which name the city's original parish, St. Mary's, was incorporated, and the incoming and outgoing correspondence of the three bishops. Bishop Elder alone left behind him eighteen letter-books containing copies of his extensive correspondence with clergy and laity. The wealth of documentary material in the Natchez diocesan archives has been assembled, sifted, and card-indexed through the joint labors of Bishop Gerow and his vicar-general, Monsignor O'Beirne, whose scholarly zeal in the matter may well be an example to other custodians of ecclesiastical records.

One instance in which the Elder letter-books have been put to particularly good account is the controversy that arose between the bishop and the federal military authorities in Natchez over a request which was practically an order from the latter that the prelate include in divine service a prayer for the President of the United States sometimes found in Catholic prayer books. Elder protested that the prayer was no part of the official Catholic liturgy and that an order from the civil power to insert it therein was an interference of the secular with the spiritual order, in which contention he was upheld by Secretary of War Stanton. But the Secretary's order does not appear to have been duly promulgated at Natchez, with the result that a local commandant, acting on his own initiative, placed Bishop Elder under custody, from which, however, he was released in a few days.

Two things are specially brought home to us by these interesting pages, the appalling poverty of the Church in the South in ante-bellum days and the exceeding dearth of priests in the same region. Bishop Chanche's cathedral was sold over his head for a debt of a few thousand dollars, and anxiety over his financial embarrassments probably led to his premature demise. As to the scarcity of priests, this was so great that bishops were often under the necessity of discharging the functions of an ordinary pastor. With his own hands Bishop Elder administered some five hundred baptisms.

Father Marshall is apparently meant for Father Martial (p. 17). It may be noted, too, that Bishop Van de Velde's autobiography, published in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (July, 1925, pp. 56-70), is not among the sources used, though it contains interesting data for the subject-matter of the volume, among others the circumstances which led to Van de Velde's transfer from the see of Chicago to that of Natchez. The prelate was given the Mississippi see in deference to his own express desire communicated to the Holy See.

His Excellency of Natchez is to be congratulated on the important and scholarly contribution he has made to the history of the Church in his venerable diocese.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

Loyola University
Chicago

Social Doctrine in Action. A Personal History. By JOHN A. RYAN. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1941. Pp. vii, 297. $3.00.)

Social Doctrine in Action is a modest statement by Monsignor Ryan of what has constituted a wonderful career. It is the opinion of the reviewer that no man in America, clergyman or layman, has done as much for the Church as has Dr. Ryan. This active career began with the publication of *A Living Wage* in 1906. From then until now he has been active with pen and voice preaching the social doctrines of the Church in behalf of the less favored members of society.

The life activities of Monsignor Ryan, as stated by himself, were in "social reform, social justice, the uplifting of labor, the defense of civil liberties, the fight against religious and racial intolerance, and the application of moral principles to social and economic life." He has drafted minimum wage laws, has appeared before committees of legislatures and of the Senate and the House of Representatives in behalf of reform measures, he has talked before scientific associations and various lay bodies as well as before the various organizations of the Catholic Church in behalf of measures of social justice and reform.

Dr. Ryan will be remembered chiefly because of his authorship of the book on the minimum wage and of the bishops' program, and for his work in the last twenty years as director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

In his *Living Wage* he advocated a living wage for the wage earner and his family established by government in the interests of social justice. Of his books *Distributive Justice, Declining Liberty,* and *A Better Economic Order* were better written than *A Living Wage,* but the latter was a pioneer work which set a pace which others as well as himself have ever since followed.

It has not been generally known until recently that the bishops' program on Social Reconstruction published on February 12, 1919 was written by Monsignor Ryan. Many programs on social reconstruction were published shortly after the first world war, but this program has had the greatest influence and been most widely accepted both abroad and in the United States. Considered a radical program when issued, all but two of its twelve important recommendations have been accepted in our national legislation. The publication of this program of the bishops has done more than anything else to make generally known the teachings of the famous encyclical of Leo XIII issued in 1891. If Dr. Ryan had done nothing else in his life, the authorship of this program on social reconstruction would have entitled him to rank among the nation's great.

Prominent among the recommendations in the bishops' program were a minimum wage for the wage earner and his family, different forms of social insurance, a minimum age limit for working children, a legal enforcement of the rights of labor to organize, collective bargaining, a national employment service, public housing for working classes, a long-time program for the increase of wages, the effective control of monopolies, prevention of excessive profits, and participation of labor in the management of industries.

When the National Catholic Welfare Conference was organized in 1920, Dr. Ryan became executive director of the Department of Social Action.

At first there were two divisions of this department, Industrial Relations and Citizenship. These have since been increased to four. The most valuable work of Monsignor Ryan in the last twenty years has been in directing the work of this important department of the N. C. W. C. In his own words " the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems has held upwards of eighty-five two-day meetings in some thirty-five cities from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from St. Paul to New Orleans. The department has also helped organize summer schools of Social Action for Priests and also two national conferences on Social Action in Milwaukee in 1938 and Cleveland in 1939."

In these conferences papers are read interpreting the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum,* the *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pope Pius XI, and the program of the bishops, and discussions are held on the labor question and relation of the employer to the employee by persons in authority on each side of the question.

The reviewer repeats here in substance a statement he has made on a number of public occasions. The Catholic Church has been very fortunate in its prophets and apostles of the labor movement: Bishop Ketteler of Mainz, Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI, Cardinal Manning, and last but not least Monsignor Ryan.

JAMES E. HAGERTY

Ohio State University

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland. By HUGH DE BLACAM. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1941. Pp. xi, 176. $2.25.)

The factual information regarding St. Patrick which can be derived from such evidence on his career as would be accepted by a competent law court could be presented in three or four pages of print. But the great old Irish story tellers abhorred a vacuum, and took care to provide for the national apostle and hero of the Christian dispensation, a cycle of stories rivaling those attached to the names of the greatest heroes of the pagan age. And what a saga it is! The relatively sober narrative of the saint's early life, like the opening lines of the Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner; the homely story of the visit to the scene of his youthful captivity, and of the barn which was his first church; the central dramatic crisis in the clash of Christianity and paganism on the Hill of Tara; the somewhat similar dramatic episode of the overthrow of the idols at Magh Slecht; the idyll of the High-King's daughters at the Well of Clebach; the wild pagan-born and near-blasphemous tale of Patrick " fasting on " God on the top of Croagh Patrick, and so further! That a stratum of historic verity lies below some or all of these achievements of the story-teller is a reasonable inference, but as to its extent and features in each case, who knows?

The author of the present work is a story teller of parts, and he adapts the legends to the *milieu* of his audience as his predecessors have done for fifteen hundred years. He is acquainted with results obtained by critical historians, and adds verisimilitude to the saga by welding into it much of those results. He himself modifies the marvelous and the miraculous to suit the modern taste. He tells us the story of St. Patrick with sympathy and literary charm, and in a setting of Ireland's green and pleasant fields that will bring nostalgia to her exiled children. But as for a life of St. Patrick satisfying to the serious student of history, that is something else.

JAMES F. KENNEY

Public Archives of Canada

Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne. By RICHARD WILDER EMERY, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law No. 480.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 184. $2.50.)

Beguines in Medieval Strasburg. A Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life. By DAYTON PHILLIPS, Instructor in History at Stanford University. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 252. $1.00.)

These volumes are significant in pointing to the only satisfactory approach at present to the problem of the Inquisition and its allied subjects. Only by many monographs of the type under review, in which the subject is considered in particular localities and at definite periods, and in which the bearing of the environment on it is duly weighed, can the controversies which center about the Inquisition be satisfactorily solved. Pursuing this method, and basing their studies on original documents, the authors have discovered new facts, and have arrived at conclusions which are in some cases re-evaluations of current theories or new interpretations of established truths.

Dr. Emery studies heresy and the Inquisition in Narbonne during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, an interesting problem, since it has long been known that thirteenth century prosecutions for heresy in that town were relatively few. Older writers were at a loss to explain this satisfactorily, and advanced various theories; among others, that Narbonne was comparatively untouched by the heretical movements of southern France. A series of proofs is advanced to show that the opposite was true. The *milieu* which accompanied heresy in other cities of the region was found in Narbonne, and thus the lack of prosecutions had to be explained otherwise than by the absence of heresy in the town. To find an explanation, the background of the problem was studied. The author investigated successively the social and political structures of Narbonne, the effects of the Albigensian crusade on that city, the character of her archbishops (who controlled the prosecution of heretics), the serious quarrel of 1234-1237, which grew out of an archepiscopal attempt to deal with a heretic but soon assumed a political aspect, the relatively few cases of heresy prosecuted during the thirteenth century, and the outburst of inquisitorial activity in the early fourteenth century. On this basis the conclusion is reached that the local political situation accounts for the few prosecutions which occurred during the thirteenth century. Throughout the century the archbishops, faced with the rivalry of the local viscounts, relied on, and usually enjoyed, the support of the local townspeople. Fear of alienating them, the author concludes, caused the archbishops to allow the inquisitorial power to fall into abeyance. In the following century, when royal authority had nullified viscountial opposition, a vigorous prosecution of heresy took place in Narbonne, although, as Dr. Emery points out, other factors, especially the interest of Pope John XXII were active at that time. Hence another interesting proof emerges concerning the importance of the king in matters concerning the Inquisition. The part played by the king in Narbonnese confiscations and prosecutions for heresy, illustrates how closely religious and political elements were bound up in the work of the Inquisition, and how readily it might be affected by outside agencies. Mr. Emery thinks the key to Narbonne's escape from the Inquisition during the thirteenth century is to be found in the absence of royal power from the town until the end of the century.

One wonders if more use might not have been made of the declared intention of Friar Ferrier, a Dominican who had worked as inquisitor in Narbonne, to establish the Inquisition in the city. In October, 1237, Ferrier "wrote from Caunes announcing his intention of commencing an Inquisition in the city of Narbonne, at, he tells us, the repeated requests of its consuls" (p. 98). Dr. Emery thinks that the request was motivated by political reasons (p. 99, n. 76); but even if this is the correct interpretation, it seems that he has overlooked evidence that heresy was prevalent in the city in 1237, for if there were no heresy when the request would hardly have carried any political weight.

The second work, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg,* is a dissertation in which the social aspects of this religious phenomenon are surveyed and evaluated. Dr. Phillips plans a further study which will take up the religious aspects of the beguine problem. The book first deals with the beguines living outside the beguine houses, and then with the beguine-houses. In the first part the author discusses the position of unmarried women in the mediaeval towns, the social class of the beguines, the relation of economic motives to religious ideals, mediaeval forms of tenancy, and property transactions of the beguines. His study of the topographical distribution of beguines in Strasburg makes it appear that the beguines and beguine houses were concentrated in various districts, especially in the vicinities of the friar convents. This illustrates the important part played by the friars, particularly the Franciscans, in the "movement."

In the second part of the study the various features of the beguine-houses are examined. The author determines the foundational, as opposed to the corporative, character of these establishments, discusses their institutional basis, and shows the character of group life within these foundations. Since the Council of Vienne decree, published in 1318, affected the beguine life, the beguine houses are treated as they existed before and then after that date. A final chapter gathers up and recapitulates all the significant facts and conclusions which were pointed in each of the earlier chapters.

This study will probably be important in clarifying procedure in dealing with the beguine question. In the past too much emphasis has been placed on the beguine houses, while this study clearly indicates that before 1318 the beguines outside the houses were an important part of the phenomenon, and thus the "movement" is seen to have wider ramifications than a mere study of the houses would lead us to suppose. It has been almost impossible to fix upon the constitutive elements of the beguine "movement," and, hence, it seems that the present book makes a contribution in pointing out that in Strasburg, at least, "the 'beguine movement,' therefore, in an exact and specific sense appears to have centered upon the self-consecration of unmarried women to virginity" (p. 216). The importance of the social and economic aspects of the movement is repeatedly emphasized by an imposing array of facts.

The author appears to claim too much for his findings in stating:

> These facts throw interesting light upon the Vienne condemnation of the beguine life and in themselves are sufficient proof of the inadequacy of the traditional story of the beguines. For it has always been supposed that the Vienne decree was aimed against secret heretics. Instead, the unprotected religious life in the midst of society appears to have been the real object of ecclesiastical disapproval; women living in the world could no longer claim a religious life merely on the basis of their consecration to virginity and chastity (p. 229; cf. p. 10).

A parenthetical phrase in the decree (canon vi of the Council) indeed favors this conclusion, but the body of the text indicates that the condemnation was motivated by suspicion of heresy. Canon VII leaves no doubt regarding this point, since it enumerates five specific errors propagated in Germany by the beghards and beguines.

The fact that the book is lithoprinted undoubtedly accounts for the occasional typographical errors.

Both volumes are equipped with maps, bibliography, and an adequate index. Dr. Phillips clarifies his text by the frequent use of tables, while Dr. Emery adds five appendices and publishes three documents.

William A. Hinnebusch

Providence College

Early Gild Records of Toulouse. Edited with an Introduction by Sister Mary Ambrose Mulholland, B.V.M., Professor of History in Clarke College. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. li, 193. $3.00.)

This work presents the text of twenty-eight guild statutes for nineteen trades of the city of Toulouse. The collection from which these are taken was originally made about 1325 but the statutes were approved at various times between 1270 and 1322. The bulk of the volume is devoted to the text of the manuscript register from the municipal archives of the city of Toulouse. The editorial work has been done with elaborate care.

This section of the work will be of unquestioned value to American students of mediaeval ways and of guild procedure in particular. The author's amazement that these Toulouse documents have remained untouched might be extended to include some dozens of other continental cities. The volume of detailed work on English guilds available to American students, though excellent in itself, tends seriously to obscure the universal character of the guild system despite its local variations. Even in the work at hand Unwin's study is mentioned, but the bibliography contains no reference to the several excellent works on Spanish guilds, though Barcelona is named as one of four principal areas of mercantile importance to Toulouse. The documents reprinted manifest the variation in guild structure in a very instructive way. In Toulouse municipal authority seems to have exercised a rather high degree of direct control over the guilds and the author suggests as an hypothesis that the date of the compilation, 1325, is due to the fact that at that time both town and guild sought to strengthen their position against royal encroachment.

How 'early' these records are might well have been left an open question. Sister Ambrose presents evidence of guild organization preceding by a century those here recorded. These statutes too contain many phrases that imply that they merely codified existing practice. Some of the oldest guild charters extant, long antedating these, state that they are merely making formal record of immemorial custom. The contrary evidence here presented that the guilds of Toulouse were young (which on other grounds would be very surprising) is unimpressive. The author's rather aggressive preoccupation with establishing the primacy of the industrial character of the guilds as opposed to the religious is unfortunate and supported by no evidence. The idea that economic and religious activity cannot occupy common ground belongs to the eighteenth, not the thirteenth century. There is neither necessity nor possibility of choosing between the two motives. Insistence might better have been put upon the obvious fact that every guild statute here edited recognizes explicitly the relation between personal economic effort and the general welfare which is the formal object of social justice.

BERNARD W. DEMPSEY

St. Louis University

John Hus and the Czech Reformation. By MATTHEW SPINKA. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1941. Pp. 81. $1.50.)

This monograph is more limited in scope than the title implies: "Its sole theme is Hus's alleged Wyclifism." In the first chapter the author points out that Hus was not the founder of the Czech reformation; both the German, Conrad Waldhauser, and the Czech, Jan Milíc of Kroměríz, were preaching sermons not unlike Hus' in 1363, seven years before Hus was born; and the theology of the Hussite movement was not formulated until after Hus' death. The author establishes the fact that Hus was neither an innovator nor theologian, but a leader.

However, it is the author's contention that Hus' reputation for lack of originality and dependence on Wyclif is largely due to the German scholar, Loserth, who considered Hus a mere plagiarizer of Wyclif, without taking into consideration that mediaeval ideas on plagiarism are different from modern ideas on that practice. Wyclif himself copied from Gratian, Grosseteste, William of Pérault, and St. Augustine, and some of the original writings of Czech reformers were wrongly attributed to Wyclif.

Hus was much more orthodox than Wyclif, and when he borrowed from the latter, he usually changed passages to make them more acceptable to the Church. Hus exhibited considerable ingenuity in re-editing Wyclif; his *De ecclesia,* generally considered his most Wyclifite piece of writing, condenses thirty-six volumes of Wyclif into one.

At the trial in Constance, Hus categorically rejected thirty-three of Wyclif's forty-five articles. Three others Hus would neither deny nor affirm. And he insisted on giving his own definitions of terms for the remaining nine. He rejected Wyclif's views on transubstantiation and papal authority.

The author of this study has come much closer than many more pretentious works to clarifying the subject, and pointing out the real issues of Hus' theology. Though Professor Spinka is generous with his footnotes, there is no bibliography aside from a brief mention at the end of the first chapter of the principal works in the field; and one wonders what was the author's choice of materials for the background of his work.

Though he has utilized modern sources, his views do not deviate greatly from Palacký's with his nineteenth century, over-simplified Romantic picture of Hus. Is the author acquainted with the views of Pekar?

There is a little of "the eat your cake and have it" attitude of earlier historians, who extol Hus as a rebel and in the same breath are indignant that Hus' orthodoxy was not recognized by the Council of Constance. The author, like most historians of Hus, has failed to recognize the extreme complexity of Hus' character—that complexity which has made Hus a greater hero to Bohemia, than Luther is to Protestant Germany, Calvin to Protestant Switzerland, or Knox to Scotland.

CYRIL BRYNER

Stanford University

Giangaleazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan (1351-1402). A Study in the Political Career of an Italian Despot. By D. M. BUENO DE MESQUITA, M.A., Ph. D., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1941. Pp. x, 408. $4.50.)

This carefully prepared volume provides the first full account of the career of the ruler who became so powerful just before his sudden death that contemporaries were beginning to suspect that he aspired to the domination of all Italy. The author leans heavily upon the great mass of monographic literature bearing upon various phases of his subject, such as the studies of Giacinto Romano, Roberto Cessi, and Eugène Jarry. But he has also made extensive research in the published diplomatic reports and despatches of the period; and there is some evidence of research in the archives of Florence, Siena, Mantua, and Venice. Severe limitations were imposed upon the study by the fact that the documents of Giangaleazzo's own chanceries were lost when the *Castello* of Milan was destroyed. As a result, the story is confined almost entirely to a narrative of inter-state relations, and we are given very little information about the inner workings of Milan itself. A few pages, however, are devoted to cultural, institutional, and personal matters.

After bringing the Visconti state entirely under his control by disposing of his uncle, Bernabò, Giangaleazzo turned to the conquest of eastern Lombardy. An alliance was formed with the Carraresi to divide the territory of the Scaligeri, which lay between them. Basing his opinion on the monographs of Roberto Cessi, the author tells us that at the same time Milan also had an agreement with Venice to divide the territory of the Carraresi. The project was successful, and by 1388 Giangaleazzo had pushed his territory eastward, at the expense of the two intervening states, to touch the boundaries of Venice. Following an indecisive war with

Florence (1390-1392), Giangaleazzo was held in check for the next six years by an alliance of pro-Florentine states known as the League of Bologna, the strength of which came from the secret approval of Venice. An attempt made to form an alliance with France to counterbalance this came to nothing. Giangaleazzo was more successful when he turned to Wenceslaus, King of the Romans, who in 1395 created the title of duke of Milan for him. At about the same time, as the author has shown on the basis of a document from the Regio Archivio di Stato of Florence, Pope Boniface IX was prepared to make Giangaleazzo "King of Sicily". The failure of this project was due, we are told, to the fact that the co-operation of the Genoese fleet was necessary for the invasion of Sicily, and it became clear that closer relations with Genoa would mean war with France. It was the duke's good fortune, however, that the League of Bologna disintegrated, and in 1402, just before his sudden death, he had all Tuscany at his mercy, except for Florence. That he did not go ahead with the attack on this city was due to the fact that he did not have the means to carry out the enterprise. In proof of this, the author devotes his closing chapter to an analysis of the stringent financial conditions in Lombardy at the time of the duke's death.

A great deal of careful research has gone into the production of Mr. Bueno de Mesquita's book. In spite of this, many of the points are not clenched with sufficient thoroughness and firmness, with the result that the lines of his portrait of the duke do not stand out with clarity. But it may be that this was due to the paucity of Milanese sources rather than to any fault on the part of the author.

WALTER W. J. WILKINSON

Georgetown University

MODERN HISTORY

The Origin of the Jesuits. By JAMES BRODRICK, S.J. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1940. Pp. viii, 274. $3.50.)

Now that the Jesuit quadricentennial of the confirmation of the Society of Jesus has passed we may expect a substantial increase in the literature dealing with the origins, purpose, and historic mission of the great order founded by the genius and spirituality of St. Ignatius Loyola. It is well that we should have this shower of new studies, for few organizations have received so much attention from writers of all kinds—enthusiastic and even sharply critical. Among them, for example, are the charming appreciation by Francis Thompson as well as the hostile effort of an embittered writer who professed to present a 'candid' but really prejudiced history of the Jesuits. Needless to state, this diversity of literary effort has given rise to much confusion. Father Brodrick's volume is eminently useful even though to many it may appear too brief. The author, it should be observed, states in the Preface this this book is " only the first instalment of a much more extensive history of the Jesuits which the war and other contingencies have at least temporarily frustrated." From the jacket we learn further that the " book was commissioned from Rome and is the official history of the period covered by the life of the founder of the society—Ignatius Loyola."

We are all acquainted with the author's historical contributions on Bellarmine, Canisius, and Ozanam. Many of us were delighted by his *Economic Morals of the Jesuits; an Answer to Dr. H. M. Robertson,* in which with trenchant wit and nimble pen he reduced to absurdity the proposition that the Jesuits, not the Calvinists as Max Weber insisted, were responsible for the transformation of mediaeval ethical conceptions of economic activity during the sixteenth century. The excellent qualities of sustained scientific research, intellectual penetration, and splendid exposition which characterize those books are to be found abundantly on every page of *The Origin of the Jesuits*. Often the page is lighted with a delightful flash of humor, as, for example, when in describing social conditions in Navarre he states: " Whatever else a man might cultivate in Navarre, he always grew a family tree."

Here we have a book written by a capable Jesuit who tells us what the mind and spirituality of the great Jesuit founder and his friend and companion, St. Francis Xavier, meant to their age. This being his essential purpose, the author eschews a multitude of facts and dates. The critical apparatus is scarcely apparent; the author limits his footnotes to the indispensable sources—the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* and some of the more significant biographies of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier. Nor are there scholarly digressions which impede the zeal of readers. The author—quite properly, considering his fundamental purpose—has a way of avoiding moot points such as the extent of St. Ignatius' indebtedness to the spirituality of Thomas á Kempis, a thesis ably defended by another Jesuit, Henri Watrigant. On critical points the author's views represent the best scholarship. The discussion of the content and meaning of the *Spiritual Exercises*—a masterpiece which represents the highest form of methodical prayer so characteristic of mediaeval spirituality—is one of the best in the entire book and should correct erring writers. The book is valuable especially for those who have acquainted themselves with the facts by reading such works as Stewart Rose's *St. Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits*. Reading Father Brodrick's contribution, they will gain a clearer conception of the spirituality of one of the greatest sons of the Church.

HENRY S. LUCAS

University of Washington

Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary. By E. Harris Harbison. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 380. $4.00.)

This book is a splendid illustration of the old truth that an object, viewed from a different angle, frequently reveals new lines and also unfolds more distinctly old lines which heretofore were not too clearly visible. The tourist will fail to see all the beauties of the magnificent windows in the Cathedral of Chartres, if he focuses his eye only from one vantage point. The same window viewed from different places reveals new beauties. It is no different with a period in history. Even the specialist in the Tudor period of history will find this book a contribution because it has been written from new sources. The author obtains practically all of his information from the Noailles and the Renard Papers. The remaining sources are largely the traditional ones to be found in Conyers Read's *Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period.*

The problem of the rival ambassadors was: Who is to obtain England? The answer to the problem ran : If Mary weds Philip, the Hapsburgs win; if the union is frustrated, the Valois dynasty wins. Noailles represented the French; Renard, the Spanish. Diplomats in those days were probably much more important individuals than they are now. They were more isolated from their home governments. Today distance has been annihilated by modern science, with the result that ambassadors are frequently hardly more than dignified messenger boys. The decisions are made at home and the results are made known by the government's representatives abroad. Sixteenth century diplomats had more geographical independence, consequently much more responsibility. It follows that the failure or success of their plans depended on their own talents.

The two ambassadors are excellently contrasted. Noailles was a curious compound of subtlety and naïveté, strong hatreds and warm affections, blunt and caustic carelessness, overlaid with a veneer of polished urbanity (p. 22). He was a very peculiar Frenchman, in as much as he did not have the art of handling women. In this he was more like Gladstone than Disraeli. He fared better with Gardiner and Pole than he did with Mary. Like most diplomats of his day, Noailles would do by foul means what he could not do by fair (p. 240). He congratulated Mary on a victory which he could not prevent (p. 265). There is no doubt that Noailles was sincere when he wrote to L'Aubespine, "That for the first of my duties you wish me to lie. I see well that it is a quality which belongs to an ambassador, and I hope that in this favorable atmosphere I shall learn many others" (p. 312).

Renard was much the better ambassador. "He was a very clever man, adroit, vehement, fine-spoken, but fond of mockery" (p. 28). He was a superior psychologist to Noailles, e. g., he treated Mary—to quote Disraeli

—not as a department of government, but as a woman. He had a difficult job: to see that Mary was put on the throne, to put her into a marrying humor, and to make sure that she chose the right person. Mary did not always follow the advice of Renard, *e. g.*, he advised her to deal severely with the traitor and to spare the heretic. This was the method later used by Elizabeth. Renard urged the death of Lady Jane Grey and also singled out Elizabeth as a dangerous person. In both cases it was the good of the *state* and not religion which concerned him. Renard was a success; he won the queen. He fared better with the English Council than he had anticipated, but he failed to win the assent of the people which was next to impossible.

That nations place power-politics first in the hierarchy of values in those days as well as in our own, is obvious from the fact that "Henry II, Montmorency, and the Guises were all Catholics, but the secular tone of the age is nowhere more evident than in the willingness of all of them to make alliances with the infidel and the heretic in order to embarrass the Emperor" (p. 10). Catholic piety in French governing circles required merely that, for the sake of public opinion, a decorous cloak of secrecy be cast over negotiations with the Turk and with the Protestants of Germany and England" (p. 10).

One of the most valuable and interesting contributions which the author has made in this book is the splendid pen-pictures he has given us of some of the leading statesmen of the day. Gardiner is excellently portrayed. He is described as the most powerful figure in England. At one time we find him in the role of "deliberately sabotaging every effort to put down the rebellion and to search out ringleaders" (p. 129). He was definitely against the Spanish marriage but just as insistent in seeing England remain Catholic. He was probably beginning to realize that he had made a mistake in encouraging Henry VIII to obtain an annulment. Cardinal Pole is pictured as a near-saint in contrast with Gardiner who was a man intensely English and patriotic, a man of hard, common sense (p. 244).

Mr. Harbison interjects a personal note of preference in his book which mars somewhat his objectivity. He says "Thanks to the efforts of Paget, two of Gardiner's proposals—one to drop the Queen's title of "Supreme Head" of the Church, the other to enable her to designate her successor by will (and thus to exclude Elizabeth from the succession)—never reached the floor of the house" (p. 170). The expression of sentiment of this kind endangers the author's fine objective spirit by unnecessarily becoming jubilant over an affair which others might consider a catastrophe.

EDWARD V. CARDINAL

Loyola University
Chicago

The Youth of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. By BERNERD CLARKE WEBER. (Philadelphia: Dorance and Co. 1941. Pp. 139. $2.00.)

In the words of its author this little volume "proposes no particular thesis." However, it does have a purpose. Mr. Weber hopes that his monograph will make some slight contribution "towards a better understanding of the formative years . . . of one of the most fascinating and debatable personalities in the sixteenth century." The contribution, assuredly, does not lie in "the more important and interesting events" which he selects in Mary's life between the year of her birth, 1542, and the year of her return to Scotland, 1561. To one acquainted with the colorful career of the Scottish queen, the intrigues of Henry VIII to secure control of Scotland and of the royal infant, the move to France and the fostering domination of the Guises, the classical and courtly education of the queen, her recurring attacks of illness, plans and counterplans for her first marriage, the betrothal to Francis II and the regal splendor of the wedding celebration, the conflicting ambitions of Guises, Habsburgs, and Tudors, the forlorn sorrow of early widowhood, the scheming ambitions of the dynasties for a second marriage—all these have a familiar ring. They have been worked over before. The contribution which very probably Mr. Weber intends to make is this: all these events are treated from the point of view of Mary Stuart. Mary is the focal center of the narrative. The resulting picture is clear-cut and the impression of youthful influences definite: Mary was an international figure from the day of her birth. The heritage which she carried back to Scotland stands etched in bold outline.

And yet one wonders if this contribution is a sufficient reward for all the time spent on the study, for clearly it is the result of long and painstaking labor. Every statement worthy of the name is supported by some reference to an abundance of sources. The eighty-six pages of text are supported by twenty-two pages of references. One is inclined to feel that, as far as the sources are concerned, the last word has been said about the youth of Mary Stuart. Of course, the vexing problem of interpretation will always remain. Mr. Weber easily demonstrates his ability to deal with documents. Deftly he untangles the threads of devious sixteenth century diplomacy. He presents a sprightly narrative. He indicates a knack for pithy statement. He is capable of masterly summary, as is evident from his remarks about the Peace of Cateau Cambresis (p. 52) and his final observations on the return to Scotland (pp. 96-97). Perhaps the real significance of the *Youth of Mary Stuart* lies in what it portends. A definitive life of Mary Stuart has yet to be written. A definitive life, indeed, may be impossible. But if it is to be written, one endowed with the scholarly aptitudes and the capabilities for careful work evidenced in this book will be the man to give it to us.

Attention may be called to some minor defects. *Pretention* is consistently used with the exception of *pretension* on p. 21. *Wealth* in the line on p. 31: " Considerable anxiety was felt concerning the delicacy of Mary's wealth " should obviously be *health*. The note numeral, 1, on p. 92 should be 91. The genealogical tables are muddled (pp. 108, 120-121). The author had plenty of space to indicate descent and marriage with much more clarity.

FREDERICK E. WELFLE

John Carroll University

Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth-Century France: A Study in the Evolution of Ideas. [Vol. XLVII, Harvard Historical Studies.] By WILLIAM FARR CHURCH. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. 360. $3.75.)

Mr. Church warns us at the beginning that he has limited his investigation to the works of three classes of writers, whom he calls collectively " legists ": first, the legists proper (largely excluding the Roman lawyers), second, historians; third, certain members of the central administration. However, he considers the doctrines of these writers representative of contemporary political speculation, and also, he intimates, in general, of the principles of contemporary political administration. Analysis of the works of these " legists " reveals, despite the reaction after the middle of the century, a steady strengthening of royal authority, until by the end of the reign of Henry IV, the prevailing theory of the state was absolute monarchy.

Mr. Church's description of the process of change is interesting. To him the essence of the mediaeval constitution was the recognition of two distinct spheres of legal right: one, that of the king, ordered by fundamental law, the other, that of the people, ordered by customary law. In the course of the century the first sphere was enlarged at the expense of the second, so that by the end nothing remained of popular rights. The cause of this development he finds to be mainly the need of adapting the law to the great political changes brought about by the rise of national states. But also, he says, it was a logical development of aspects of preceding theory.

If Mr. Church had been as careful in generalization as he has been in detail, there would be little to object to in his book. His most important error, in the reviewer's opinion, is exaggeration of the contemporary practical significance of the doctrines he describes. As indicated above, his tendency throughout has been to identify the opinions of his subjects, the royalist lawyers, with the law of the state. A glance at contemporary events, especially toward the end of the period, when the absolutist doctrine received complete formulation, would have warned him that his legists were speaking, not for the kingdom, but only for a minority doubtless small, then the *Politique* party. Likewise, when at the end of his book he asserts that with the work of the absolutist theorists of the end of the reign of Henry IV " the two categories of persons in the realm were henceforth simply those of ruler and ruled, with the monarch standing forth as that divinely appointed sovereign who exercised an absolute authority over all men " . . . that " the metamorphosis of the realm . . . was complete ", he ignores such phenomena of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as local estates, an independent judiciary, and especially the potent limiting force of Ultramontanism.

This last word brings the reviewer to note an omission which he found strange in the book. The greatest single subject of constitutional thought in the period of the Wars of Religion was the relation of civil to ecclesiastical authority, yet on this subject Mr. Church has nothing to say.

Finally, a word of criticism of his description of the constitution as it was at the beginning of his period. He insists that the king was absolute within his sphere. But he admits that the most important part of that sphere was the administration of justice, and that this business was mainly in the hands of an independent judiciary. The only way in which the theory of the absolutism of the king within his sphere can be reconciled with the fact of division of judicial authority, is to subscribe to the fiction that the judges are parts of the king. But it would seem to be the duty of the historian to brush aside polite fictions and call things by their names.

If the reviewer has criticized Mr. Church's work, it is not to be concluded that he considers this a poor book. On the contrary, he thinks it a very good one. His legists are precious sources for the history of the genesis of the modern state, and they have been hitherto largely neglected, due mainly, the reviewer suspects, to their difficulty. It is heartening today to find a new book which is obviously the product of thousands of hours of calm and intense study.

PAUL RICE DOOLIN

Georgetown University

Voltaire and Madame du Châtelet: An Essay on the Intellectual Activity at Cirey (1733-1749). By IRA O. WADE (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 241. $3.00.)

This monograph is a worthy addition to the outstanding contributions which American scholars such as Norman Torrey, George R. Havens, Andrew Morehouse, and others have been making to the field of French intellectual history of the eighteenth century. Mr. Wade's previous works on the period, notably the important *Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700-1750* (Princeton, 1938), which Mr. Norman Torrey characterizes as " the basic study for all future research on this subject," have well prepared him for the present undertaking. In fact, the present *Essay on the Intellectual Activity at Cirey* derives directly from this earlier book and is a natural outgrowth of it. In the *Clandestine Organization* the author points out:

> The supreme importance of these manuscripts lies in the fact that even before they were printed they were penetrating the consciousness of important writers of the eighteenth century. . . . He (Voltaire) was present daily at the composition of Madame du Châtelet's *Examen de la Genèse* . . . No complete study has been made of the extent to which the writers of 1750-1789 were familiar with them (the manuscripts). . . . There are many points of likeness between the *Examen de la Genèse* of Madame du Châtelet and Voltaire's *La Bible enfin expliquée* (pp. 274-275).

Furthermore, one of the points which emerge clearly from the book is the importance of the role which Madame du Châtelet played in biblical criticism (pp. 183 ff).

But Mr. Wade's desire to give a concrete instance of the influence of these clandestine manuscripts—specifically that of Madame du Châtelet's *Examen de la Genèse* on Voltaire's critical deism as set forth in his *La Bible enfin expliquée,* the *Examen important de milord Bolingbroke,* and the *Sermon des cinquante*—is not the sole purpose of his investigation. He is also interested in re-evaluating the so-called "Cirey Period" (1733-49) in the life of Voltaire and in getting a clearer idea of the real nature and importance of his relations with "La belle Emilie."

The eighteenth century, with its taste for erotic anecdote, chose to present the affair as a kind of idyll with decorations by Boucher. Later writers were, in general, only too willing to accept this version. Wade, however, is anxious to stress the scientific rather than the romantic aspects of the situation, and presents Madame du Châtelet as a *savante* rather than as an *amante*. Moreover, he seeks to revise the commonly accepted opinion that the Cirey episode was a period of "marking time" for Voltaire. He sees it as a time of feverish intellectual activity, a very important stage in Voltaire's development, which serves to explain the hitherto vaguely explained transition between English critical deism and the Voltairean critical deism of 1760-1778.

The document, which is fundamental in Mr. Wade's study of both of these problems, is the set of five manuscript volumes from the Bibliotheque municipale de Troyes (Nos. 2376, 2377), entitled *Examen de la Genèse* and described by the catalog as a "MS autographe de Madame du Châtelet."

The study is organized in four chapters. The conclusion crisply sums up the total contributions of Madame du Châtelet to the development of Voltaire's thought. In the fields of metaphysics, history, and moral philosophy, it was negligible or negative; in science and in critical deism, it was of first-rate importance.

An index, a selective bibliography, and several appendices (including a valuable list of books read by Voltaire during the Cirey period, a comparison of passages from Woolston and the *Examen de la Genèse,* and the preface of Madame du Châtelet's translation to the *Fable of the Bees*) complete this careful and competent volume.

John L. Brown

Catholic University of America

Lazare Carnot. Republican Patriot. By Huntley Dupre. (Oxford, Ohio: Mississippi Valley Press. 1940. Pp. viii, 343. $4.50.)

Professor Dupre has written the best volume on the life of Lazare Carnot. This must not be taken as lavish praise, however. The studies on Carnot were largely produced during the regime of the Third French Republic and the process of wrapping the toga of heroism about Carnot left little space for the objective study of his ideas, methods, motives, and influence. Dr. Dupre has written a good life of Carnot; he could have written a better one. The work of Warschauer entitled *Studien zur Entwicklung der Lazare Carnots über Kriegfuhrung* (Berlin, 1937) would have demonstrated to Dr. Dupre that Carnot's ideas on strategy and tactics were more conventional than was formerly thought. Most scholars now agree that the basic tactics and reforms in the French revolutionary army were projected by the old regime. The novel element introduced by the revolutionaries was relatively slight. The author also holds firmly to the thesis that Carnot's explanation of his slight part in the work of the Terror is to be expected. This view was thoroughly exploded by Aulard in his "Les responsabilités de Carnot", *Études et Leçons* (Paris, 1893), I, 189-211.

Professor Dupre also brings in several doubtful statements such as declaring that the anti-Christian movement was largely prompted by the subversive activities of the juring priests and non-juring refractory priests (p. 163). The de-Christianization movement really went much deeper than this, having its foundations in eighteenth century rationalistic philosophy. Chaumette, Fouché, and Dumont may have given the activities of the priests as their reason but revolutionaries' words are seldom to be taken without careful scrutiny by scholars. Again, the author mentions that Robespierre patronized Catherine Théot and her strange religious ideas (p. 180). His enemies charged that he did, but no proof was ever brought forth. Another statement is made to the effect that Chénier's hymns were sung at the festival of the Supreme Being (p. 178). Actually the works of Girondist Chénier were banned by Robespierre shortly before the festival and music teachers had to rush throughout the city teaching crowds on street corners the works of more orthodox patriots. There is also too much of a tendency to accept the Mathiez thesis that Danton had to be destroyed in order to keep the republic from becoming lax. This again involves acceptance of the Robespierrists' word on the subject at a time when the measure of truth was the value it had in keeping the Jacobin faction in power. Far more vital is the author's belief that the Directory was thoroughly discredited when Napoleon " saved " France (p. 252). The best of French scholarship summed up by M. Guyot in G. Lefebvre, R. Guyot, and P. Sagnac, *La Révolution française* (Paris, 1930), 285-464, no longer accepts the view expressed by Dr. Dupre of the Directory's weakness. If Robespierre is not to be taken at his word, Napoleon should be viewed even more critically.

One of the great difficulties with the work lies in the fact that delineation of Carnot is often lost in the recital of the events of the revolution itself. The major issues of the revolution are not clearly defined. Too little of the work deals with analysis, too much with mere narration which could be better left to general works on the revolution itself. The style is wooden in nature. The bibliographical note would have benefited by topical arrangement. Professor Dupre deserves credit for his sympathetic yet on the whole objective portrait of Carnot. His industry is evident. The book can be recommended if those who read it will keep in mind the fact that the best of modern scholarship on the revolution has not been synthesized in the work.

JAMES M. EAGAN

College of New Rochelle

Twelve Who Ruled. By R. R. PALMER. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. 417. $3.75.)

Mr. Palmer's book is fascinating reading. All the elements of a Greek tragedy are present, and with masterful strokes, after a brief introduction of the characters, the author has the *Twelve Who Ruled* as the Committee of Public Safety, live this pulsating year until the protagonist, Robespierre, is led, dismayed and disillusioned, to the guillotine.

The Age of Enlightenment resulted, in 1793-1794, in the unhappy union of " virtue and terror." Rousseau's theories were tried and found wanting. Nature and Supreme Being were not concepts which could satisfy a people nurtured on the knowledge of a personal God. The freedom of a people could not be found in making them the slaves of the state. The vague term, " the people," so glibly used by Jean Jacques, failed to be understood in any way whatsoever when it became apparent that " the people " were only a small fraction of the populace.

The intensely dramatic picture of this turbulent year's events and of the strangely assorted group which tried to unify the various factions in France at the time is solidly and concisely drawn. At the end of the book, the section " Notes and References " clearly indicates, chapter by chapter, the source materials on which the author drew. Undoubtedly many readers will be surprised by the new interpretation of Robespierre's personality. Mathiez seemed to have written all there was to be said on this point. However, whether or not one considers Mr. Palmer's portrayal as too sympathetic, there is no denying the force of his arguments. Maximilien Robespierre, like Barère, Carnot, Couthon and the other terrorists, was " a child of the Enlightenment " (p. 276). The author does not diminish nor hide his many defects, but he does maintain that the man was sincere. There is no attempt to place Robespierre in the refulgent light of a hero; rather, the sincerity of the writer would have been stilted had he not recognized the sparks of this same quality in the statesman.

Matters pertaining to religion are treated factually and entirely objectively. The treatment of the incident of the false relic at Billom (p. 143) shows that Mr. Palmer realizes such aberrations did not and do not affect the spiritual force of the Church, which the violence and shallow substitutes of a state in revolt can never suppress.

This book, with its splendid index, will not only be a valuable but also a necessary adjunct for any student of this period.

GUSTAVE DUMAS

Fordham University

Jean-Baptiste Rousseau. His Life and Works. By HENRY A. GRUBBS. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 310. $3.00.)

The author declares that, " this study has been written to fill a gap in French literary history ". The reviewer questions the importance of the gap and the necessity of filling it. It is true that Rousseau was the greatest lyric poet of his day but he wrote in a period when lyric poetry was not distinguished. By the eighteenth century what was once lyric poetry had become prose written by the namesake of Jean-Baptiste, Jean Jacques. Much of the study is concerned with *trivia* such as the fact that Jean-Baptiste suffered during Lent because of his dislike of fish. Much of his lyric poetry was written for consumption at the cafe of the widow Laurent and was exactly what you might expect to find written there.

From the point of view of the historian, however, the material within the book is of immense importance in tracing the evolution of the philosophy which led to the revolution. This does not mean that Jean-Baptiste was in a way like Jean-Jacques in elaborating a philosophy of revolution. Jean-Baptiste was one of the army of sappers and miners to be found in the vanguard of any revolution, even before the philosophy is formulated. Jean-Baptiste was one of those poets who, while he prided himself upon his Catholicism, devoted his secular odes to the subject of the gluttony of priests, their drunkenness, adultery, incest, and homosexual tendencies, declaring all the time that he derided only individuals and not the priesthood as a whole. He encouraged and patronized young Arouet, who hated him for it. Jean-Baptiste was a splendid example of the type-poet or phi- existing order while they professed to believe it. After producing material as scurrilous as that of Voltaire, Jean-Baptiste accused Voltaire of impiety and blasphemy. Unfortunately too, Jean-Baptiste indulged in that form of trading off half-truths as whole-truths known as the epigram.

Professor Grubb's approach to the subject is that of the literary historian. The historical implications of the life and works of Jean-Baptiste have escaped him completely. The work, from the point of view of that kind of scholarship which involves finding everything written on a given subject, is excellent. One wonders, however, whether there are not bigger gaps to be filled.

James M. Eagan

College of New Rochelle

The Reconstruction of Europe: Talleyrand and the Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815. By Guglielmo Ferrero. Translated by Theodore R. Jaeckel. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1941. Pp. xv, 351. $3.50.)

This is a timely book, tracing the process by which Europe made a lasting peace in 1814-1815, after more than two decades of war. Talleyrand appears, not as the traditional chameleon and traitor, but as the " philosophical politician ", the great constructive mind of his generation.

Europe in 1815 was caught in a vicious circle of force and fear. Every revolutionary government in France, conscious of itself as an " illegitimate usurpation " of power, fearful of both its own people and the legitimate monarchies of Europe, had plunged into an excess of violence. Finally, Napoleon, the " symbol of revolutionary power ", had ignored the " metaphysics of force ", that principle of the eighteenth century law of nations best expressed by Montesquieu—" that in peace men should do each other the greatest possible good and in war the least possible harm "—and had unleashed in Europe what men today call total war.

According to Professor Ferrero, only Talleyrand realized that force had failed, that the panic of Napoleon was as great as that of his victims, that peace could never be established in Europe until it had been swept free of Napoleonic usurpations and revolutionary governments. For, although the allies of the fourth coalition won victories over Napoleon, each revolutionary despotism overthrown left a country without a government; and the panic of the victorious allies increased because there was no one with whom to make peace. Talleyrand alone saw that each allied advance put peace farther away, since Napoleon's was an illegitimate government whose weakness grew with every defeat; Talleyrand found the " golden bridge " to lasting peace, the principle of legitimate governments. As enunciated by Professor Ferrero, Talleyrand's principle differs from the accepted version: "A government is legitimate when its power is assigned and exercised in accordance with a principle of legitimacy . . . accepted by a majority of those who obey and respected by those who command. One must not interpret legitimacy as the exclusive privilege of certain forms of government . . . the absolute monarchy, for instance."

At a meeting with Talleyrand in Paris, on March 31, 1814, Alexander of Russia, on behalf of the victorious allies, agreed to make peace, not with Napoleon, but with the " legitimate " ruler of France, the Bourbon Louis XVIII. In the next weeks, the principles of peace with France, also to form the basis of the Vienna settlements, were elaborated. Applying the eighteenth century law of nations, these principles regarded territory acquired by France by force as still belonging to its old sovereigns, since occupation by conquest could never confer sovereignty; territory which had been ceded by treaty to France by its former sovereigns should be regarded as " vacated ", but at the disposal not of the allies alone, but of collective Europe. This " vacated " territory constituted the bones of contention at Vienna.

In his treatment of the Congress of Vienna proper, Professor Ferrero follows traditional lines. The efforts of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England to set aside Talleyrand's principle that only Europe had power to dispose of the " vacated " territories, and to arrogate to themselves as victors the right to do so, is attributed chiefly to Alexander's urgent need for Poland as a tangible return for Russian participation in the struggle against Napoleon, after 1812 a struggle by no means popular in Russia. Hence the familiar Saxo-Polish deal of Prussia and Russia, a bit of " expediency " blocked by Talleyrand's insistence on his " principle ".

The most provocative sections of the book outline parallels between 1815 and 1919 (or 1940), and suggest principles of peacemaking applicable today. "A system of states such as Europe can only remain peaceful if it is governed by principles which are respected by the most powerful states even though those states are able to violate them and gain an immediate advantage." " Government does not have the right to command because it is strong ", for " strength is not the parent but the servant of the right to command ". It might surprise Professor Ferrero to realize that those principles are not startlingly new, but are grounded in that Christian ethics for which he appears to have so little regard.

To attribute Napoleon's invasions of Spain and Russia solely to the fear of a spurious, illegitimate monarch for authentic, legitimate dynasties is too simple; it ignores entirely the economic factor of closing the leaks in the continental blockade against the British " thalassocracy ". The author shows a lack of sympathy for the problems of the papacy in the revolutionary-Napoleonic period, and especially for the difficult position of Cardinal Consalvi at Vienna of which he makes almost a caricature. Repeatedly he sneers at Francis II of Austria as a " pupil of the Italian Counter-Reformation ", although he does not make it clear why he regards that characterization as so damning. Not only Catholics but all Christians will take exception to the blatant hedonistic philosophy found on page 250.

Nevertheless, the virtues of the book outweigh its faults. *The Reconstruction of Europe* is definitely a useful, thought-stirring book.

Francis A. Arlinghaus

University of Detroit

European Colonial Expansion Since 1871. By Mary Evelyn Townsend with the collaboration of Cyrus Henderson Peake. (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1941. Pp. viii, $4.00.)

Professor Townsend, whose special field of research has been the history of the German colonial empire, now presents a general account of recent European colonial expansion designed primarily for use as a textbook in college courses. The area of subject matter treated is broader than the title would indicate, as Japanese expansion in the Far East and in the Pacific, as well as that of the United States, is logically included. Part V of the book, which deals with the Far East, is contributed by Dr. Cyrus H. Peake, a specialist in this field. American expansion in the Western Hemisphere is, however, not included.

After an exposition of " the mechanics " of modern expansionism, detailed studies are made of colonial expansion in Africa, the Near East, the Middle East, and the Far East. In the development of each topic the geographical, cultural, economic, and political setting is first considered, following which the story of expansion itself is told. Emphasis is then given to the effects of colonialism upon the " backward " peoples, and particularly to the nationalist movements engendered by the policies of the colonial powers. The effects of imperialism upon international relations are adequately treated.

In answer to the question " Do colonies pay? " Professor Townsend states that a valid reply is not easy to make. Indeed, there are so many imponderables involved that it would seem that a clear-cut and definitive affirmative or negative answer can hardly be supplied. The theory that colonies act as outlets for so-called overpopulation has been decisively rejected by scholars. The argument that colonies are necessary as sources of raw materials does not stand up well under close scrutiny. Colonies produce but a small part of the world's supply of raw materials. In the matter of foodstuffs the answer is not so definitive. The question of the value of trade with the colonies is not easily settled as it is beset with many variables. It would seem that colonies do pay at stated times in wealth, power, and prestige to the nation at large and to the dominating interested class, but whether colonies pay in the long run would seem to be answered in the negative. Colonial expansion has resulted in nationalistic revolts of the subject peoples in Africa, the Near East, the Middle East, and the Far East. Imperialism has led to international rivalry and has been a fruitful factor in bringing about the first World War and the present conflict.

Miss Townsend's work may be considered the leading survey in its field. It is well organized, adequately equipped with maps, and includes movements in the contemporary world. It should be decidedly helpful to the student in analyzing the causes which produced the present world war.

SYLVESTER JOHN HEMLEBEN

Fordham University

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Era of the American Revolution: Studies Inscribed to Evarts Boutell Greene. Edited by RICHARD B. MORRIS. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 415. $3.75.)

Many scholarly essays have appeared in the several pretentious volumes which in recent years have been prepared by former students to mark the retirement or elevation to the presidency of the American Historical Association of their inspiring teachers. None is more deserving of such a testimonial than Professor Greene, who recently retired as De Witt Clinton Professor of American History in Columbia University. A fitting tribute to him is given by Professor Morris in the foreword. This reviewer became intimately acquainted with Professor Greene during the first World War, when the National Board for Historical Service needed his conservative and tolerant direction. To Catholic scholars his tolerance has always been outstanding among many virtues. Indeed, when he read his presidential address before the American Historical Association in 1930, on "Persistent Problems of Church and State," it was generally remarked by those attending the concurrent meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association that his paper might well have served as a presidential address before the latter body.

The essays in this volume have unity; they deal with the period 1760-1790. All have been written by specialists in their respective fields. Lawrence A. Harper's study of "The Effect of the Navigation Acts on the Thirteen Colonies" is a summary of the author's larger treatment of the *English Navigation Laws* which disputes the contention of Beer and others that mother country and colonies shared equally the advantages and disadvantages of these acts. Professor Harper here shows with much ingenuity and heroic labor that the burdens on the colonies out-weighed the benefits. O. M. Dickerson discusses in detail the issues raised by "Writs of Assistance as a Cause of the Revolution." After demonstrating that the creation of these writs legalized in America several earlier acts which gave custom officers the right to search for and seize uncustomed goods, his conclusion is that the issue was as alive elsewhere as in Massachusetts, and that in Virginia, for example, the practice was more stubbornly fought than in the former colony. Richard B. Morris, the editor, has delved deeply into a mass of sources to write on "Labor and Mercantilism in the Revolutionary Era," and to show that mercantilism was managed in the colonies not only by the regulations provided by the acts of trade but also by such internal policies as the control of wages and prices. Max Savelle in his essay on "The American Balance of Power and European Diplomacy, 1713-78," breaks new ground in linking the long-accepted concept of balance of power in Europe with balance of power in the colonial world, particularly in America where the notion brought French, Spanish, and Dutch aid to achieve independence. Clarence E. Carter, in his treatment of the "Office of Commander in Chief as a Phase of Imperial Unity on the Eve of the Revolution," offers as a contributing cause of the conflict the growing fear in the colonies of a military regime. His theory is supported by statements of colonial leaders and by the career of Gage, whose *Correspondence* he has edited. Louise B. Dunbar presents a study in imperial personnel in her review of the "Royal Governors in the Middle and Southern Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution," in which she portrays the growing weakness and isolation of their position. Herbert M. Morais, with special consideration of the New York group, makes a statement of the effective methods of agitation used by the Sons of Liberty which mobilized popular discontent. George C. Groce, Jr., cites "Eliphalet Dyer, Connecticut Revolutionist," as a man of property and position who became a radical because of the opposition of his home government to his land claims, and because of the frontier program of his colony. Sidney I. Pomerantz confines his consideration of the "Patriot Newspapers and the American Revolution" to the New York-New Jersey area where the press served the American cause with honesty and without propaganda.

It was a coincidence that while Michael Kraus was preparing his study of "America and the Irish Revolutionary Movement in the Eighteenth Century," this reviewer was writing a paper on the Irish Parliament and the American Revolution to be read before the United States Catholic Historical Society (*Records and Studies,* XXX, 1-30). From different approaches both essays show parallels in the revolutionary movements of Ireland and the colonies, and the gains to the former country because of the American conflict. Finally, Robert A. East's thesis, in his examination of the "Massachusetts Conservatives in the Critical Period," is that the economic and social disturbances in that state were fed by conservative policies. The result was a situation in which all elements were willing to work for federal union.

This interpretative volume of these important phases of the American Revolution deserves the consideration of all students of this period, and is a scholarly tribute to the man it so richly honors.

LEO F. STOCK

Carnegie Institution of Washington

Timothy Murphy, Hero of the American Revolution. By MICHAEL J. O'BRIEN. (New York: Eire Publishing Co. 1941. Pp. vi, 216. $2.50.)

Timothy Murphy was a famous sharpshooter who saw eight years of service during and after the American Revolution. His double-barrelled rifle won him distinction for markmanship first in Captain Lowdon's battalion of riflemen, later as a member of Colonel Daniel Morgan's Rifle Corps, and subsequently under other commands. At Saratoga he was acclaimed for bringing down General Frazer, thereby contributing in no small measure to the American victory. Later his exploits in Indian warfare in the Schoharie Valley and in central New York made him both an historical and legendary figure. By all accounts he was distinguished for resourcefulness, initiative, endurance, fixity of purpose, and bravery which at times bordered on the foolhardy. Legend and tradition have added many inches to his stature.

This little book is of the popular hero type. Revolutionary records, town and county records, church, land and court records, and local histories form the substantial sources of information; but numerous marvelous tales of the prowess of the hero are drawn from traditions, interviews with descendants, and commemorative addresses. In several instances the fact that Murphy's regiment was present at an engagement, or that his name is found on the rolls, suffices for ascribing to him his accustomed role. In one place there is a bold leap from the probable to the certain. To cite Jay Gould the financier as a qualified historical authority argues a lack of critical insight. It is noteworthy that the bibliography lists so few books that postdate 1900. Familiarity with Howard Swiggett's *War Out of Niagara* would have served as a corrective to the treatment of the conflict with Tories and Indians in central New York. One might ask for proof that Burgoyne planned to cut the colonies in two. To characterize Sullivan's punitive expedition against the Indians as "an expedition without parallel in the history of war" seems overbold. The practice of enclosing sentences, or parts of sentences, in quotation marks with no indication of the source or only a general reference to a volume scarcely accomplishes a worthwhile purpose. A considerable portion of this book will be of more interest to genealogists and antiquarians than to historians or the general reader.

Charles H. Metzger

West Baden College

Les Canadiens Français et leurs Voisins du Sud. Edited by Gustave Lanctôt. (Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1941. Pp. 322. $3.00.)

The study of the relations of Canada with the United States brings us a new work entitled *Les Canadiens Français et leurs Voisins du Sud*. To many this book will be a revelation; to others it will be a subject of keen satisfaction. In fact, it is only necessary to open a manual of Canadian or American history to get a clear idea that the connections between the two countries are usually treated very superficially. It is obvious, however, that two neighboring countries, joined rather than separated by an imaginary line, could not have lived to this point as strangers. This volume, published under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, will radically upset the idea of the popular reader and illuminate the way of the research student.

The truth is that, under the French regime, the history of Canada and that of Acadia were forcibly conditioned by the presence of the English colonies on the Atlantic coast; and since the English conquest and the birth of the United States, the Canadians have sustained daily, and in a thousand ways, the influence of the United States. In this new light, many obscure points of our annals appear more explainable, necessary, and inevitable.

The chapters written by Gustave Lanctôt and Jean Bruchési at last fill a gap for which we are grateful. They destroy legends and put in its true light the somewhat fantastic conception of many regarding the loyalty of the French Canadians. This loyalty subsists, but it is more human, more shaded.

To the reviewer, another point of genuine newness and interest is the sort of intellectual alchemy through which French Canadian thought has progressed in contact with the merchants who came from New England and the Loyalist immigrants after the cession and the American Revolution. Thus can be explained how a Latin-minded people with monarchical and absolute tradition became a supporter of constitutional liberties and mitigated democracy.

Finally, the *annexion*—a mermaid for some, a spectre for others—fully appears as a reality. It is old, for it dates back to the French regime. It slumbers in time of peace and rouses itself in periods of crisis, and it has always had in Canada its friends and its opponents. Among the latter, the most determined have been the French Canadians. They are the ones who still resist most strongly the innumerable American infiltrations of finance, cinema, radio, and the press. They are conscious that, as a distinct people, there is here involved a question of life or death.

The influences, however, have not all been unilateral. The chapters committed to Mr. Bruillette and to Father Robitaille show us the French Canadians laboring in American territory in the various fields of exploration, fur trade, and evangelization. The history of the United States cannot deny them their share of glory and usefulness. They had founded a magnificent empire between the Hudson Bay and the Gulf of Mexico and they would have maintained it had not the struggle between France and England ended by the victory of the latter, for reasons which are definitely clarified in the book under review. (Cf. the essays of Lanctôt and Parent).

The Carnegie Endowment must be thanked for having made possible the publication of this precious book and let us wish that the other volumes of the series may meet with equal success.

Olivier Maurault

University of Montreal

American Issues. Volume I, *The Social Record;* Volume II, *The Literary Record.* Edited by Willard Thorp, Merle Curti, and Carlos Baker. (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Co. 1941. Pp. xviii, 1035; xiv, 893. $3.00 Per Volume.)

These two volumes provide voluminous selections from American literary and historical works. They are intended for use in general courses in American literature and in courses in the cultural and social history of the United States. The books are large, Volume I containing 1035 pages and Volume II 893 pages, with two columns on each page. Nevertheless, they are flexible and easy to handle. They make an attractive set.

In the Foreword the editors say that this anthology is the first to make an adequate critical distinction between selections whose bearing and interests are primarily social and those which can stand on their own merits as literature. They say, too, " None of the previous anthologies is so designed as to enable the student, with a minimum of inconvenience, to study the literature of this country against the magnificent panorama of its history." A careful examination of the two volumes establishes the truth of these statements.

Volume I, *The Social Record,* groups the selections under twenty-two separate headings. These divisions are roughly chronological, but the fundamental basis for each group is a particular cultural or social idea.

The first section is entitled "The Other World or This (1630-1790)." It contains selections from the works of Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards, Charles Chauncey, William Penn, John Woolman, and Benjamin Franklin. Among the other sections are "The Rise of Americanism (1783-1825)," "Life Everlasting (1790-1860)," and "The Second American Revolution (1860-1865)." The final section is entitled "Depression and Reconstruction (1929-1940)." These titles indicate in a general way the nature of the divisions. The volume emphasizes strongly recent times, approximately one-third of the book being devoted to works having to do with the twentieth century.

All classes of opinion are represented. The volume offers selections from the writings of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, Orestes Brownson, Horace Mann, Thoreau, Henry George, Bishop Spalding (his description of the religious element in education, from *Means and Needs of Education*), Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Thorstein Veblen, Henry Ford, and Charles A. Beard. All aspects of our social history are covered, and all points of view seem to be fairly well represented. For each section there is an introduction, indicating the general nature of the period. Preceding the selections from each author is a brief biographical sketch and an explanation of the significance of his work. There is also a brief bibliography of each writer.

Volume II, *The Literary Record,* presents selections of real literary value. The editors have aimed to include in this volume "only such writing as can honestly be said to show the artist's hand at work, conscientiously shaping his material." The selections in this volume are to be read and interpreted against the background of the material in Volume I. Fewer authors are represented in this volume than in the former. They range in time from John Smith and William Bradford to Archibald MacLeish and John Steinbeck. The selections are not grouped under special headings as are those in Volume I. The excerpts from each author are generous in number and in length. There is also a short introductory sketch and a brief bibliography for each author.

Certain authors are represented by selections in both volumes. The comparison of such selections, e. g., in the case of Benjamin Franklin, shows how successfully the editors have lived up to their promise to differentiate works primarily of social significance and those primarily of literary worth. The two volumes should prove valuable for the courses for which they were planned, or as books of reference. They also have interest for the general student of history or of literature.

William H. J. Kennedy

Teachers College
of the City of Boston

The Ashley Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829. Edited by Harrison Clifford Dale. (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1941. Pp. 360. $6.00.)

This work comes at a time pecularily rich in the editing and publishing of source materials pertaining to the history of the West, as witness the series issuing from the University of New Mexico Press on the occasion of the Quatro-Centennial of the Coronado expedition. The present book is the recasting of a work published twenty years ago: " something more than a revision, something less than a complete rewriting," as the editor informs us.

Four chief documents are here presented to the reader, ably and learnedly edited: the William Henry Ashley narrative, the Jedediah Strong Smith narrative, and the two distinct journals of a member of Smith's party, Harrison G. Rogers. Dr. Dale has introduced this source material with clarifying essays giving the background of the important explorations of Ashley and Smith and filling in and continuing the narrative when the journals close. Interspersed in the editor's own narrative are fragments of letters recently come to light.

The documents and the editor's additions make good reading. We have the stately style of Ashley and the ungrammatical, but realistic, writing of Rogers. Such thrillers as the editor's account of the massacre of Ashley's men by the Aricara Indians on the Missouri, Ashley's fine descriptions of the mountains and the streams he was the first white man to see, the blocking of Smith's party by the deep snows of the high Sierras in California, and finally, the untimely destruction of his party in the Umpqua massacre—these are some of the things contained in the narratives.

Probably that part of the documents most interesting to the readers of this quarterly is the diary kept by Harrison Rogers detailing the events he witnessed at San Gabriel Mission in southern California. Rogers was here from November 27, 1826 to January 25, 1827. This sojourn, which Smith's narrative dismissed in a few lines, Rogers' chronicle describes for almost thirty pages of print. The trappers were treated well by the Franciscan missionaries and the Spaniards at the Mission, which Rogers calls the mansion.

He saw and described San Gabriel in the most prosperous period of its history. He tells of its 30,000 head of cattle, of its horses, sheep, and hogs, of the thousand persons employed in the shops and the fields, of the estimated $60,000 yearly income in spite of the slow and inefficient labor of the Indians. He writes of the vineyards, the peach and apple orchards, and the orange groves; of the winery, the distillery, the water mill, and the blacksmith shop. He remarks often on the delightfulness of the climate though it was in the dead of winter.

Rogers was a deeply religious man and a Calvinist. He tells of a friendly argument with the padre (the older one of the two with whom he became very friendly) as to his beliefs concerning the forgiveness of sins. On New Year's Day, 1827, he preached to this padre a sort of sermon on the work of the missionaries in the past and of St. Paul in particular! The address has been preserved and is given here. The "splendid wayfarer" gives many other details touching the social and religious life of the Mission. Rogers' simple pen was stayed forever in the Umpqua massacre of the following year.

This handsome, gilt-edged volume contains also a good physiographical map, a few old prints, and a not very satisfactory index.

PETER M. DUNNE

University of San Francisco

Justice in Grey. A History of the Judicial System of the Confederate States of America. By WILLIAM M. ROBINSON, JR. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xxi, 713. $7.50.)

It is extremely difficult to compress a review of these pages into proper limits. This work may be examined from three different angles. It is primarily a survey of an important and, to a large extent, hitherto unexplored page in the judicial history of the United States. Then it is an outstanding chapter in the political, as opposed to the military, history of the Confederacy. Finally it is an invaluable essay on political science.

It is with a feeling of distinct sadness that these statements are made. They bring out the amount of thought, labor, and patience Dr. Robinson has devoted to this study. Every line he has written has appealed to this reviewer who is a lawyer by profession and a southerner by heredity and by affiliation. He is able to appreciate the amount of time, the concentration of thought, and the singleness of purpose that have gone into the preparation of this volume. And, what discontents him, is the conviction that these years of study, and the self-sacrifice they entailed, will probably not pay for the typing of the manuscript and the printing and distribution of the book.

Chapter I gives as clear an insight into the Anglo-Saxon genius for government as could be found anywhere. It shows that if the French Revolution of 1789, like most revolutions, was predicated upon destruction and based upon a disturbance of the peace, the Confederacy came into being as the offspring of law and order.

The southern leaders who created the Confederate States of America were not merely law-abiding men in the sense that Washington, Jefferson, and Adams were law-abiding men; they were law-abiding men in the sense that they conscientiously believed that they were preserving the spirit of the institutions founded by Washington, Jefferson, and Adams.

The small tablet on the left of the entrance to 23 Chalmers Street, Charleston, South Carolina ranks with *Magna Charta* as an enduring proof of the Anglo-Saxon's respect for law and order. It reads:

Former
U. S. Court House
Here on Nov. 7
1860
Judge A. G. Magrath
left the bench
Divested himself
of his judicial
robes and declared
that this temple
of justice is
now closed.

"His dramatic divestiture," says Dr. Robinson, "was occasioned by the election of Abraham Lincoln that had occurred the day before. On Tuesday night, November 6, 1860, the ballot-box checkers had found that the candidate of the Republican Party had been elected to the presidency and the telegraph clicked the news over the country. South Carolina had been a-quiver, expectant, the tension snapped the next morning, the grand jury was in the box, ordinary business had been disposed. The presiding judge, Andrew Gordon Magrath, inquired whether the grand jury had any presentments to make. The foreman, Robert N. Gourdin, a prominent Charlestonian, arose and replied.

The foreman's answer said in part:

"It was the purpose of this jury to lay before the court some matters suggested by the indictments submitted to them. But the events of yesterday make this unnecessary now. . . . In these extraordinary circumstances, the Grand Jury respectfully decline to proceed with their presentments. They deem this explanation due to the Court and to themselves."

Ominous silence, portentous of the impending tragedy, followed. This silence was broken by the rising of the judge. In formal tones and language he resigned.

Judge Magrath's dramatic resignation was the spark which lit the powder train. There was now no turning back, no longer debate about the right or expediency of secession. Only the time and mode remained to be settled. South Carolina seceded and as soon as the confederate judicial machine was established by the Confederacy Andrew Gordon Magrath was appointed by President Davis judge of the Confederate States District Court for the District of South Carolina. There had been no disorder. In the same setting, the same judge personified law and order.

The tempo of the work, fixed by its opening chapter, is maintained throughout. One dramatic incident follows another. All of them in the last analysis are attuned to the greatness of the English-speaking world. They bring out that the civilization that meant so much to Lee, Jackson, and Beauregard will resist the frontal attack now being made upon it, because it represents the united contribution of the Blue and the Grey. And it is no mere accident that has placed the Blue before the Grey. Harvard University is essentially a citadel of New England and therefore a Blue fortress. Had it not been for the liberalism, the patriotism, the broadmindedness of the Harvard University Press, this book would not be in existence. It will not pay. It cannot pay. The fact that a northern institution has thus made possible a scholarly presentation of *Justice in Grey* makes this work both significant and epoch-making. It is a great volume because an outstanding scholar found a publisher worthy of his talents.

PIERRE CRABITÈS

Loyola University
New Orleans

Italian Opinion on America, 1850-1900. [Vol. XV, Harvard Studies in Romance Languages.] By ANDREW J. TORRIELLI, Ph.D., Fordham University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. vi, 330. $3.50.)

In *Italian Opinion on America, 1850-1900* we have a double mirror, picturing conditions both in the United States and in Italy. The Italian visitors of the period, in describing this country for the benefit of their fellow-Italians, consciously or subconsciously, reflect conditions in Italy as well. For various reasons, chiefly connected with the Italian struggle for independence and national unification, visitors from that country to the United States were not as numerous as those from England or France. Perhaps for that very reason, they seem to have been better equipped for their task of commenting on the American scene.

With admirable scholarship Dr. Torrielli has compiled the reactions of these visitors to the major social and political developments in America, during the second half of the nineteenth century, a period of the utmost importance in the growth of the United States as we know it. His chapter headings give a clear view of the scope of his study: The Negro Question and the Civil War; Democracy—Its Glories and Its Failings; Education; The Press; Woman in America; The Arts in America. His work, therefore, forms a valuable commentary on the period when we were "growing up" and enables us to "see ourselves as others" saw us.

In viewing the American Civil War Italians were not influenced by the prejudiced attitude of their governments, as were the English or French, whose governments more or less openly favored the southern cause, in the hope of disrupting the United States whose growth they had come to fear and envy. All the Italian states, including the papacy, adopted an attitude of strict neutrality, and gave what we may call moral support to the North. Hence we find in the writings of such men as Vincenzo Botta and Father Louis Rossi remarkably able analyses of the causes and course of the conflict. They were influenced, no doubt, by their own aspirations for national unity to look with friendly eye on the effort of the North to preserve the American union, but they were not insensible to the humanitarian appeal of the crusade for the abolition of slavery. The clearness of their view, however, is evinced by the fact that they early recognized the " propaganda " value of the Emancipation Proclamation of 1862, and were aware that the United States, as such, freed no slave until the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865.

Italians were open in their admiration of the workings of democracy in general in America, though they were outspoken in their criticism of its failings and shortcomings; to many of them, the American system, with all its faults, was preferable to their own. Their comments on education, particularly in the higher branches were an interesting exemplification of the " greenness " of far away fields. While they were praising our colleges and universities for their differences from those of Europe, American educators were striving to bring their institutions to conform to European models.

It was chiefly in the fields of art that Italian visitors were most unfavorably critical, as we might expect. Coming from a land rich in the traditions of all the arts, they naturally found grave defects in America, absorbed in material progress and money-making. Even here, however, they were not despairing; in due time America would find herself and devote her rare potentialities to the cultivation of all the arts. In Boston and Concord Ugo Ojetti saw the beginning and the center of a true American culture.

With a work of such interest and value, and of such sound scholarship, one is inclined to pass over what seem to be minor deficiencies. But one could wish that more consideration could have been given to the Italian reaction to religion in America, to the condition of the Church, and to the problem of Church and State as worked out here. One might question the advisability of frequent and extensive quotations in Italian; these will minimize the value of the study for those who do not read that language. And no doubt the reference to the " atrophied constitution of 1776 " was a *lapsus linguae,* or slip of the typewriter, for 1787 (p. 286).

JOSEPH H. BRADY

Seton Hall College

LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

Diccionario Histórico Cronológico de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de San Marcos y Sus Colegios—Crónica é Investigación. Tomo I. Por Luís Antonio Eguiguren. (Lima, Perú: Imp. Torres Aguirre. 1940. Pp. ccxciii, 1133.)

The University of San Marcos, the fountain-head of learning and culture in South America during colonial times, is fortunate in having its records published by one whose scholarship and painstaking zeal the present volume amply demonstrates. It is the first of a series of volumes in which Dr. Eguiguren plans to preserve in durable form the archival materials he has for more than thirty years been collecting for "the history of our highest cultural institution, the archives of which were lost in their entirety during the War of the Pacific." In the use of these materials the distinguished scholar himself set the pace two years ago when, on the basis of what this first volume of the *Diccionario* contains, he brought out the critical and exhaustive study entitled *Alma Mater—Orígines de la Universidad de San Marcos (1551-1579)*.

Dr. Eguiguren himself summarizes the contents of the present volume when he writes: "To decipher decrees and written accounts; to clarify defective *resumés* of other published decrees; to sketch the lives of the Rectors; to present the chief facts in a report that bears on the education or the culture of that epoch—this is the task we have set out to perform in these pages" (p. xxxi). Hence the volume is in large measure a collection of critically annotated source materials, chiefly archival, that deal with the colonial history of the University of San Marcos and of the colleges in some way connected with it—the founding and early development of these institutions of learning, their governing and teaching personnel, the relation between the University and the colleges of the Dominicans and Jesuits, the establishment and tenure of academic departments, and incidental matters of administration and discipline. In scope and purpose, therefore, the materials here published are not strictly confined to the University of San Marcos, but offer authentic information on numerous other phases of culture in colonial Spanish America.

The volume is divided into three parts: first, the *Prólogo,* entitled "Recapitulación y Reviviscensias" (pp. ix-clxxx) with extensive "Notas Documentadas" (pp. clxxxvii-cclxxxi); second, the *Crónica* (pp. 1-492), containing Calancha's *Historia de la Universidad de San Marcos* (to the year 1647) and a chronological account of the forty-nine rectors who governed the University during the first half-century (1553-1612) of its existence; and third, the *Investigación* (pp. 493-1055), a series of forty-one studies, dealing for the most part with the policy and activity of the University. In each of the parts of the volume we find documents of highest value and interest—hundreds of them in all—many of which are here printed for the first time. Dr. Eguiguren publishes them, frequently in full, either to buttress the stand he takes on some controverted question or to elucidate some obscure point or to set aright some matter that has been misinterpreted or to correct some prevailing erroneous opinion. In performing this portion of his task he manifests not only vast erudition and tireless zeal but also sound judgment and strict impartiality.

This is particularly true of the *Prólogo* in which Dr. Eguiguren discusses some rather delicate issues. While fearless and uncompromising in presenting his verdict on a given point, he displays at the same time the mentality of a true scholar when he writes at the end of the *Prólogo*: "Without setting myself up either as an apologist or as a detractor of the past which, if it had its blemishes, had also its splendors, I believe that profitable lessons can be learned from the past if we dedicate ourselves to a vigorous imitation of the successes it achieved. I have labored with great care, zeal, and tenacity" he continues. "In spite of this, however, it is not my belief that I have spoken the last word on those really sturdy and superior men who in the sixteenth century up to the middle of the seventeenth fashioned the institutions of the viceroyalty, struggling with very scanty means at their disposal and without more assistance than the moral support of royal decrees frequently not complied with" (p. clxxxiii).

Especially valuable in the *Prólogo* for further research and study are the "Notas Documentadas." In these the student will find, for instance, a mine of information on the outstanding universities and colleges that flourished in South America before the year 1800 and innumerable references to the literary and academic activities of prominent schoolmen connected with these institutions of learning.

Besides the complete text of Calancha's *Historia*, which Dr. Eguiguren located some twenty years ago, the second part of the volume under review, the *Crónica*, contains heavily documented discussions of the relations that existed between the University of San Marcos and Viceroy Toledo and of the disagreements that the University had with the Dominicans and Jesuits. In this part there is also a highly important document concerning the court proceedings against Viceroy Conde de Villar (1585), not to speak of the lengthy biographies of three of the Rectors of the University, viz., Juan Velasquez (1595), Leandro de la Rinaga Salazar (1599), and Feliciano de la Vega y Padilla (1610).

It should be noted at this point that in the *Crónica*, as throughout the volume, the author repeatedly directs our attention to unpublished manuscripts in the archives of Spain and Peru, stating where in the respective archive the document can be found.

The value of the third part of the volume, the *Investigación*, may be best shown by citing a few of the forty-one studies which it embodies. There is, for instance, an illuminating discussion of the creole question in "La Universidad de Lima en su lucha por la igualdad de los españoles de la Metrópoli con los nacidos en América" (pp. 555-584). As Dr. Eguiguren demonstrates, the University of San Marcos was open to all men regardless of whether they were born in Spain or in America. Of the latter, the creoles, he furnishes an interesting list of graduates of the University, who subsequently distinguished themselves in their chosen field of activity. It might be well to mention in this connection that, as gathered from the volume under review, of the forty rectors who governed the University between 1571 (the year of its secularization) and 1612, eight were creoles.

An interesting study is "La Reforma del Calendario" (pp. 637-640). It tells how in 1583, the year in which the Gregorian reform of the calendar was introduced, the rector of the University commissioned a member of the faculty, Francisco de la Vega Nuñez, to expound the scientific reasons for the reform.

What sort of books were read in Peru in the sixteenth century can be estimated from the list appended to the study "Una libreria de la Ciudad de Los Reyes [Lima] el año 1597" (pp. 695-723). Not only the sacred and profane sciences are represented on this list of books, but also a considerable number of literary works, notably the ancient Latin classics and several of the Spanish romances of chivalry, not to mention the works of Luís de León and of Erasmus of Rotterdam. The owner of this Lima bookstore, Andrés de Hornillos, had in that year, 1597, a total of 4,495 volumes for sale—surely a respectable amount for a single bookstore at so early a date.

From "El primer folleto impreso en Lima" (pp. 867-871) we learn that the first product of the press in Lima (1583) was the decree concerning the calendar reform. Here as elsewhere we are grateful to Dr. Eguiguren for reproducing in facsimile this earliest piece of Lima printing.

The "Otra analista del primer siglo de la Universidad de San Marcos" (pp. 1047-1055), to whom the author devotes a special study, is Diego de León Pinelo. Whereas Calancha's *Historia*, previously discussed and reproduced in the volume, is strictly factual in character and content, the work of this "other annalist of the first century" is, to quote Dr. Eguiguren, "an elegant description of the University of Lima, written in Latin for the purpose of vindicating the University, it having been left unmentioned by Justus Lipsius who, when writing about the University of Louvain and citing the universities of Asia and Africa, forgot those of America, even choosing to characterize the New Continent contemptuously as barbarous" (p. 1048). Pinelo's work was published in 1648, a year after Calancha finished writing his *Historia*. He was the brother of the better known Antonio León Pinelo and like him a graduate of the University of San Marcos.

These are a few of the topics discussed in the third part of the volume, making it perhaps the most attractive part, though not for this reason less scholarly and valuable than the two parts that precede it.

With all who are interested in the cultural history of colonial Spanish America the present reviewer joins in the prayer of Dr. Eguiguren: "May God grant me health and means to complete the printing of this entire work." The value and importance of this first volume of the proposed *Diccionario Histórico Cronológico* can not be overestimated, nor can its author be commended too highly for the scholarship and zeal he manifests in this first volume of the series. It is a rich storehouse of information on the cultural history of colonial Spanish America, making us debtors to Dr. Eguiguren who labored so long and so patiently in producing it and who, we all hope, will soon see himself rewarded and his debtors further beholden to him by the publication of the remaining volumes of the series.

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The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830. By ARTHUR PRESTON WHITAKER. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1941. Pp. xx, 632. $3.75.)

This excellent study is the fruit of the Albert Shaw lectures on diplomatic history delivered three years ago at the Johns Hopkins University. It is a completely new discussion of the topic, done with thoroughness, a sharp eye, and a competent pen.

Professor Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania brings home the striking fact that independence was won from a liberal Spanish regime and not from the absolutism of Ferdinand VII. He maintains that the turning point in the relations of the colonies with the homeland was the rise of the Cortes, as a result of the revolution of 1820 and the revival of the Constitution of 1812. Instead of pursuing a consistently liberal policy toward its colonies, the Cortes not only "opposed political independence but also the liberation of colonial commerce . . . offering the colonies a degree of parliamentary representation that they regarded as quite inadequate (p. 326). This continuity in the Spanish colonial policy, from the absolute monarchy through the limited monarchy, seems to reflect certain elements of the popular Spanish will in the policies of the crown.

The author is singularly free from the "impartial" attitude of English and American writers on Spanish history, an attitude which has become synonymous with twentieth century liberalism. As the physicist may arbitrarily take the normal temperature as zero and then begin to measure all deviations from that point, so the historian often tends to judge all historical events by the degree to which they diverge from the practices and beliefs of contemporary life. Professor Whitaker has so far divested himself of this frame of mind as to realize that there are far more subtle factors involved in the division of Spain and her colonies than merely a struggle between liberals and monarchists. A certain earthiness in his treatment of the revolutionary movement and its leaders assures one of the oft-suspected fact that virtue was not the exclusive prerogative of the revolutionary program.

Into this deep understanding of the background of the revolutions, the author works the story of their relations with the United States. In a masterful way he shows how the multicolored shades of public opinion in the United States reflected the news from Latin America and helped to determine the action of our government. The attitudes and the work of ranking personalities in the United States government are given detailed treatment. The cautious and sceptical Adams, who placed little faith in the liberal protestations of the revolutionaries and was even more distrustful of English motives (p. 338), is contrasted with the crusading and " quixotic " zeal of Clay (p. 333), who strove to create in the New World a counterpoise to the Holy Alliance (p. 336). The final determinant of American policy was, according to the author, a combination of our national interests and of republican zeal, with the emphasis decidedly on the former (p. 378).

There is a most interesting treatment of the relationship between Monroe and Adams with regard to Latin American policy. The author offers abundant testimony to show that, contrary to general belief, Adams yielded to his superior's judgment on all important questions (p. 425).

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Historia de la Comunicación Interoceánica y de su influencia en la formación y en el desarrollo de la Entidad Nacional Panameña. By ERNEST J. CASTILLERO R. (Panama: 1941. Pp. xiv, 444.)

Professor Ernest J. Castillero R., professor at the Catholic University of Panama and member of the Panama Academy of History, has presented an interesting thesis in showing the relationship between the history of interoceanic communication and the development of the National Panama Entity. The keynote is struck at the very beginning with a quotation from Uribe: " If we are to believe in a Providence which formed Empires and Continents and with eternal preference destined them to an eternal prosperity, it must be admitted that that Providence marked out the Isthmus of Panama for the free use of Humanity, not for the exclusive advantage of Colombia and the United States, countries of artificial denomination without root in Nature."

It is not suprising that Dr. Castillero, an enthusiastic Panamanian, should alike score unhesitatingly the inaction of Colombia and many of the policies of the United States. Dr. Bunau Varilla, whose name is as well known as Theodore Roosevelt's in American accounts of the Panama story, first representative of Panama to Washington and author of the well known work *Panama — Its Creation, Destruction and Resurrection*, emerges from Castillero's pages as no hero or patriot. His efforts are considered humiliating to the people of Panama (it is strongly implied that he sold them out) and his actions imprudent and inconsiderate.

Unfortunately many of our own presentations in connection with the historical isthmian development have been quite thoroughly deleted of careful source notations. Too often our students have been left with fragmentary and sketchy bits about de Lesseps, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, Bunau Varilla, and the role of Theodore Roosevelt. Dr. Castillero's fifteen chapters are short but they are packed with many references and quotations from documents found in the Archives of the Indies and the accounts of great writers such as Herrara, Archbishop Rojas y Arrieta, Francisco de Miranda, precursor of American independence, Peter Martyr, Bolívar, Fray Tomás de Berlanga, Bishop of Darien, Humboldt, and scores of others, The opinions of monarchs are noted and a careful chronological presentation of the isthmian proposals of many nations are given.

Much of the Panamanian dissatisfaction with the United States in latter years can be laid to the treaty of 1903. With the failure of each succeeding administration to revise and correct the terms, the people of Panama became increasingly impatient with visiting commissions and numberless propositions. Finally, and again as another tribute to Franklin Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, a revision was effected in 1934 and ratified in 1936. Dr. Castillero's chart summarizing the changes affecting the two countries is one of the most outstanding accomplishments of his work. (There should be noted as well his comparison of the provisions of the Herran-Hay and the Hay-Bunau Varilla treaties.)

It is regrettable that a work of this kind has no analytic index, which would greatly enhance its value. This book might be used with profit by classes reading Spanish as well as by history students for whom it was intended. If Dr. Castillero is at times somewhat over anxious to sell the Panamanian point of view it is understandable from his own proposition, *i. e.*, to show the influence of this key to the Pacific in the development and welding of the national entity of his own country and then the contribution of that entity to the world as a whole in the great field of commerce and communication. It is well for us, too, to get every possible side of a story in order to develop in true perspective a picture of the whole.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The gigantic Union Catalogue has been removed from the Library of Congress to a place of greater safety during the war. Work on the catalogue will continue, and scholars can avail themselves of it by writing to the Library of Congress. Many manuscripts and valuable books of the Library are being stored elsewhere.

Columbia University is offering a course of fifteen lectures by Alexander J. Wall, director of the New York Historical Society, on the work of historical societies. The course will extend from February through May and will include discussions on all phases of development, administration, resources, and activities of a historical society.

Professor S. Harrison Thomson (Boulder, Colorado) announces a plan to facilitate the publication of articles on mediaeval and Renaissance history. He envisages a volume of *ca.* 128 pages published once or twice a year at a cost of about $1.50 per fascicle. Those interested in the project are asked to communicate with him.

The first issue of *The Far Eastern Quarterly* (November, 1941) begins with this declaration on the part of its editors:

> Our aim in launching the *Quarterly* is two-fold. First, we desire to provide a medium of publication for the increasing number of specialists in the Far Eastern field, many of whom have a command of one or more of the languages of that area, in which to present the results of their own researches or to bring to the attention of Westerners, through translations and abstracts, the more fruitful and pertinent studies of Far Eastern scholars. Secondly, it is our aim to present this material in such manner that it will be of utility and interest to the general reader, as well as the student, and the instructor interested in one or more of the broad fields of history, culture, geography, economics, sociology and government, and who is seeking to bring the Far Eastern aspects of these fields within the scope of his reading, research or teaching.

Besides four articles and a number of book reviews the issue contains eleven pages of " Far Eastern Bibliography 1941 " prepared by Earl H. Pritchard with the aid of several collaborators.

The Basic Works of Aristotle, edited by Richard McKeon (New York: Random House. Pp. xxxix, 1487. $4.00) presents the most important works of Aristotle in the monumental Oxford translation. Dean McKeon has written an excellent introduction and supplied valuable notes and cross references. The volume is attractive and convenient to handle.

C. C. McCown publishes a fascinating article on "Codex and Roll in the New Testament" in the October number of the *Harvard Theological Review*. He presents and criticizes the findings of recent authors on the origin of the codex and with great keenness pushes these findings back to the period of the New Testament. He maintains that both literary and archaeological data clearly support the hypothesis that Christians put parts of the Scripture into codices from the very beginning. The little fragment of St. John's gospel in the John Ryland's Library, he gleefully points out, is proof that John was put into a codex in the early part of the second century—at least a generation before the old Tübingen school would concede that John was written. He himself departs from the traditional view on the dating of some of the New Testament.

In the same number M. L. W. Laistner writes of "The Western Church and Astrology during the Middle Ages." He tests the assertion of Franz Cumont that the Latin Church succeeded in suppressing "scientific" astrology until the Arabs introduced it into the West in the twelfth century. Professor Laistner displays his superb control over the sources of the early middle ages. He concludes that "scientific" (as distinguished from popular) astrology disappeared in the West down to the ninth century not because it was suppressed by authority but because there was a lack of manuals on the pseudo-science. It would seem to be legitimate to add the historical "if" that had astrology flourished more its condemnation would have been more vocal.

In the 1941 volume of *The Scotist*, mimeographed annual of the Duns Scotus Theological Association, Ladislas Siekaniecz, O.F.M., has a well documented article on William of Ware. He is interested especially in William's teaching regarding the Immaculate Conception.

The *Journal of Modern History* for December, 1941, carries a bibliographical article by Professor Nussbaum of the University of Wyoming on "The Economic History of Renaissance Europe. Problems and Solutions during the Past Generation." The author has a paragraph or two in explanation of the works of A. Fanfani and J. Broderick, S.J. on the problems of Catholicism's relation to the early stages of capitalism.

The *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* will be published twice a year during the rest of the war. The *Theses Supplement* will be suspended, but the *Bulletin* will print lists of theses completed in universities of the United Kingdom. Titles of special interest listed in the May issue are: "The evolution of settlement in county Antrim down to Norman times," by E. Watson (M.A., Belfast); "A social and cultural study of crofter life on the west Donegal seaboard," by P. O'Neill (M.A., Belfast); "The church in Shetland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," by E. W. Wallis (Ph.D., Edinburgh); "The relations between crown and baronage in England between 1216 and 1232, with especial reference to the administration of Hubert de Burgh," by Gladys Malbon (M.A., University College, Exeter, London Ext.); "The parlement of Paris during the reigns of Charles VI and Charles VII," by R. Windsor (M.A., Liverpool); "Philippe de Mézières, with special reference to 'Le songe du vieil pèlerin'," by Edith G. I. Winter (M.A., Liverpool); "The Catholic revival in French literature from Huysmans to Péguy," by E. Beaumont (M.A., London); "The decoration of Norman baptismal fonts in relation to English twelfth-century sculpture," by Renée Marcousé (Ph.D., London); "The trade of Southampton with the Mediterranean, 1428-1547," by Alwyn A. Ruddock (Ph.D., London); "The Irish influence on the liberal movement in England, 1789-1832, with special reference to the period 1815-22," by R. Cassirer (Ph.D., London); "The plainsong music-drama of the mediaeval church," by W. L. Smoldon (Ph.D., Ext., London); "The clergy of the English secular cathedrals in the fourteenth century, with special reference to the clergy of Salisbury," by Kathleen Edwards (Ph.D., Manchester); "Shrewsbury: its historical geography and development," by Gwendolen J. Fuller (M.A., University College, Nottingham, London Ext.); "A descriptive and bibliographical list of Irish figure sculptors of the early Christian period, with a critical assessment of their significance," by E. H. L. Sexton (B.Litt., Oxford); "Grievances of the English clergy in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, with special reference to the *gravamina* of 1309," by U. R. Q. Henriques (B.Litt., Oxford); "The influence of social and economic conditions on regional movements in the early Church up to A.D. 500, with special reference to the Donatist schism," by W. H. C. Frend (D.Phil., Oxford); "A study of the nunnery of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, and its property, with an edition of its cartulary," by W. O. Hassall (D.Phil., Oxford); "Aspects of the economic development of some Leicestershire monastic estates in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: based on the record of Leicester and Owston abbeys," by R. H. Hilton (D.Phil., Oxford); "The personnel of the house of commons in 1422," by J. S. Roskell (D.Phil., Oxford); "The position of women in Icelandic life and social economy as shown in the Icelandic sagas," by R. G. Thomas (M.A., Cardiff).

A notable essay in historiography is Ernest C. Mossner's "An Apology For David Hume, Historian," in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (Sept., 1941). An attempt to rescue Hume from oblivion, it confines itself to a reconstruction of the man within the limits of his age; and it affords an excellent analysis of the preconceptions of a secular historian. A useful footnote contains a bibliography of critical writings on Hume's *History of England*. Concluding remarks are interesting: "The poet and the moralist speak for the best historians of the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century demanded the exactness of a von Ranke; the twentieth century demands the exactness of the one united with the general syntheses of the other. Modern historians like modern scientists have returned to their old union with philosophers. The task of the historian has not become easier in the past two centuries." One might add that if Clio is not to crack under the strain, a science of being must rescue her from part of the burden. Such could be the implication of the essay, "History: New and Newer," by Esmond Wright in the *Sewanee Review* (Oct.–Dec., 1941), but the author prefers to rebuke the "New History" for pretensions suitable only for Sociology. *The New England Quarterly* (Sept., 1941) has a careful treatment of "Henry Adams's Philosophy of History" by James Stone.

Followers of population shifts, particularly those which bring about a depletion of strength in those northeastern centers of Catholic residence, may be interested in the statistical profiles which appear in *The American Sociological Review* (October, 1941).

A list of Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science appears in the August number of the *American Political Science Review*. The following (October, 1941) number has a splendid contribution to the history of American political theory by Paul A. Palmer, "Benthamism in England and America." The essay demonstrates clearly that liberal democracy in the United States was rooted in the natural rights concepts of English and European philosophy prior to any Utilitarian influence, and, what is more striking, that no important influence was exercised by any "Benthamite" school in this country before the Civil War. Dr. Palmer's article is for the most part analysis, but the implications (not necessarily his) cannot be ignored in any definition of American "Democracy," wherein it is necessary to distinguish between that phenomenon in America and the "Liberalism" of Europe and Latin America where Bentham had much more honor than in even his own country.

The first number of the *Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History* (October, 1941) contains a foreword by C. C. Crittenden, President of the Association and Acting Editor of the publication, which describes briefly the aims of the new Association. The present number is devoted otherwise to a paper of Edward P. Alexander, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. In this article (pp. 3-26) the author summarizes a considerable amount of worthwhile data on historical societies and their work under the headings of: meetings, publications, library and museum activities. The author's extensive experience in directing the efforts of local historical societies in New York affords him a rich background. He has drawn upon it to point out what he believes should be the principal preoccupations of the Association. He urges that the meetings of historical societies be regarded as of the highest importance in arousing and sustaining interest in local historical societies and he characterizes the editing by such societies of a periodical magazine as the "ideal publication." The *Bulletins* are distributed to the members of the American Association for State and Local History and are on sale for 50c. each to non-members. Members purchasing extra copies in lots of ten or more receive a 50% discount.

The Mississippi Valley Press was established in 1939 at Oxford, Ohio, to provide a publishing service in which the overhead costs are drastically restricted to the level justifiable for books of less popular appeal. This Press does not seek volumes of sufficient potential circulation to justify publication without subsidy, but it has been found, in the course of the publishing of seven volumes, that the specialization of the Mississippi Valley Press in this one field of publishing has made possible the printing of books in excellent form at less subsidy than the amount ordinarily required for such works. The Mississippi Valley Press publishes volumes pertaining to cultural and political history in three series—Men of America, Annals of America, and Foundation Studies in Culture—which provide opportunity for the author and researcher to place his book in company with the work of others. Books which do not fall into the categories covered by these series are also published. The volumes published in the above series during the past year include *Heaven on Earth, A Planned Mormon Society*, by William J. McNiff; *Quaker Lady, The Story of Charity Lynch*, by Alta Harvey Heiser; *Lazare Carnot, Republican Patriot*, by Huntley Dupre; *The Civil War Veteran in Minnesota Life and Politics*, by Frank H. Heck; and *Hamilton in the Making*, by Alta Harvey Heiser.

The News Service of the N.C.W.C. has inaugurated a series of articles on the 111 martyrs of the United States. These brief biographical sketches have been compiled from documentary materials assembled by a group of trained Catholic historians who have been working for many months under the chairmanship of the Most Reverend John Mark Gannon, Bishop of Erie. The series is being syndicated by the News Service to all the Catholic papers throughout the country. The first sketch in this American martyrology appeared the last week in November.

Volume XXXII of the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society, edited by Thomas F. Meehan, contains seven articles on a variety of subjects of interest to the church historian.

Sister Mary Magdalen Wirmel, O.S.F. writes on " Sisterhoods in the Spanish American War "; the Reverend Joseph T. Durkin, S.J. on " Catholic Training for Maryland Catholics, 1773-1786"; Joseph Herman Schauninger on " A Great Southern Catholic " (William J. Gaston); William H. Dodd edits extracts from " A Confederate Chaplain's War Journal "; Mr. Meehan has a brief article on " Catholic War Chaplains "; M. F. Thomas was inspired by the transfer of the memorial to Orestes Brownson from Riverside Drive in June, 1941 to write on " A National Brownson Memorial "; finally J. M. Butler gives some worthwhile figures on Catholic chaplains in the war of 1917 in his " Echoes of the First World War." There are also four subjects under Notes and Comments: " The Irish Family," " First Catholic University," " Catholic Historical Index," and " The First American Novel."

A splendid example of pictorial history has recently appeared in a map entitled, " A Map of the United States of America showing a part of the Role played by Catholics in its Discovery, Exploration, Development and Defense." Practically all of Mexico and a good part of southern Canada are included. The data was collected by Mary Bell Glennan of Norfolk, who originated the idea, and by William M. Campbell of Philadelphia. The information was carefully examined for exactness by the well-known Catholic authority on American history, Dr. Leo F. Stock of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The subjects included run from a representation of the three vessels of Columbus' first expedition in 1492 to a picture of the Mullen Library of the Catholic University of America, though most of the material included ends with the year 1865. The map proper is bordered by insets of important buildings in the Catholic life of the New World such as the printing shop of Juan Pablos in Mexico City dating from *ca.* 1539, St. Joseph's Cathedral at Bardstown, completed in 1819, the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans, and Doughoregan Manor of Charles Carroll. The lower border contains a series of full-length pictures of important figures in the Catholic history of the Western Hemisphere from Leif Ericsson to General Rosecranz.

The figures and chief data which mark the history of given areas of the United States are inserted over that area, e.g., Marquette and Pinet, S.J., at or near Chicago and the French settlements of Kaskaskia and Cahokia in southwestern Illinois.

All in all the map is a beautiful piece of work. It has been printed by Rand McNally & Company in colors. Its usefulness in the classroom need hardly be stressed. It might well be questioned if it would not have been preferable to have included a few of the great figures among the early nineteenth century bishops such as Flaget at Bardstown, Blanchet in Oregon, and Alemany in California. Their contribution to the development of Catholic progress was surely greater than some of the men mentioned, e.g., Dr. George Hart in Kentucky or the first territorial governors of California and Oregon.

However, it was not possible to include every man and event that figured in America's Catholic past. The collectors, the artists, and the professional adviser have done a fine piece of work and every Catholic classroom in American history should have a copy of the map.

In his manual of cases for the use of students of the School of Canon Law of the Catholic University of America in their model-chancery seminar Dr. Jerome D. Hannan includes a concordance of the decrees of all the councils of Baltimore with the canons of the Code of Canon Law. This concordance will be of real service to students of American church history. While it is privately printed, copies of the manual can be obtained from "The Jurist," The Catholic University of America, at one dollar each.

The October number of *The Jurist* contains an article by the same author on "The Local Ordinary's Guardianship of Church Property." That, too, concerns American church history.

The *Missouri Historical Review* for October carries a note on the life of Father Abram Joseph Ryan and his zeal for the Confederate cause.

Robert D. W. Connor has resigned his position as Archivist of the United States to accept a newly endowed chair of American history and jurisprudence at the University of North Carolina. His successor at the National Archives is Solon J. Buck. The REVIEW extends its best wishes to both these distinguished scholars.

The National Archives has recently issued a *Select Bibliography on the History, Organization, and Activities of Archival Agencies* and a bulletin on *The Care of Records in a National Emergency.*

Mr. Carlos E. Castañeda, Latin-American Librarian and Associate Professor of History at the University of Texas, was received into the Order of Knights of the Holy Sepulchre on October 12. The REVIEW congratulates him on his new honor. Dr. Castañeda is a former president of the American Catholic Historical Association.

Mr. P. Raymond Nielsen has been appointed Director of the Department of History at Creighton University.

Arthur P. Whitaker is on leave from the University of Pennsylvania during the first term, 1941-42. He is engaged in research and is lecturing at the Catholic University of Lima and the University of San Marcos.

The eighth annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association was held in London, Ontario, under the auspices of His Excellency, the Most Reverend John T. Kidd, D.D., Bishop of London, October 8-9,

1941. The meeting was in every respect remarkably successful. The attendance at the annual banquet numbered one hundred and seventy-five.

Noteworthy among the events of the meeting were the luncheon on October 8 at which the chairman was Colonel the Reverend T. J. McCarthy, M.C., who related some of his experiences as an army chaplain overseas, and the speaker, Colonel the Most Reverend C. L. Nelligan, D.D., Bishop of Pembroke and Chief Catholic Chaplain in the Canadian military forces, who spoke on "Canadian Catholic War Activities"; a visit to St. Peter's Seminary; a session at the University of Western Ontario, at which Mr. Paul Martin, K.C., M.P., was chairman, and papers were read on "Saint-Sulpice et la hiérarchie de l'Ontario", by the Right Reverend Olivier Maurault, P.S.S., Rector of the University of Montreal, and "The Discovery of the Site of the Huron Mission St. Ignace II, Scene of the Martyrdom of St. Jean Brébeuf and St. Gabriel Lalemant", by W. Sherwood Fox, Ph. D., LL.D., President of the University of Western Ontario; tea at Brescia Hall, the arts college conducted by the Sisters of St. Ursula which is affiliated with the University of Western Ontario, where the guests were received by Mother M. Eileen, Superior, Mother M. St. James, Dean, and the other members of the faculty; a general evening meeting at the Cathedral Parish Hall, under the chairmanship of the Reverend W. S. Morrison, Rector of the Cathedral, at which the Most Reverend R. H. Dignan, D.D., Bishop of Sault Ste. Marie, a native of London, spoke on "The Early History of Catholicity in London"; and, on the evening of October 9, the annual dinner, presided over by the Reverend F. J. Brennan, S.T.L., editor of *The Catholic Record*, with the following speakers: the Right Reverend Andrew P. Mahoney, D.P., V.G., Rector of St. Peter's Seminary; Dr. W. Sherwood Fox, President of the University of Western Ontario; the Hon. P. M. Dewan, Minister of Agriculture for Ontario; the Most Reverend John T. Kidd, D.D., Bishop of London; Senator the Hon. W. H. McGuire, K.C., President General of the Association; and the Reverend Arthur Maheux, D.Th., of Laval University, Quebec.

At the regular morning and afternoon sessions the following papers were read: English Section: Professor D. J. McDougall, M.A., University of Toronto—"The British Government and the Irish Episcopate"; Mother M. St. James—"Three Hundred Years in Quebec—A Study in Historical Continuity"; Brother Alfred, F.S.C., LL.D.—"The Right Reverend Edmund Burke, D.D., 'Apostle of Upper Canada' and First Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia — 1753-1820"; the Reverend D. J. Rankin, "Lawrence Kavanagh, Winner of Emancipation in Nova Scotia"; Miss Clara McFerran—"Catholic Pioneers of Tyendinaga and Neighboring Townships"; Thomas S. Melady, M.A.—"A Distinguished Son of Huron County—The Rev. Stephen Eckert, O.F.M.Cap."; French Section: the Reverend Georges Simard, O.M.I., Ph.D., S.T.D., "Napoléon et l'Eglise"; the Reverend

Dolor Biron, of Sherbrooke, P.Q., " Le Grand Vicaire Dufresne "; Louis C. O'Neil, " L'abbé Pierre Girard, premier supérieur du Séminaire Saint-Charles-Borromée de Sherbrooke "; Senator the Hon. Gustave Lacasse, " Soixante-et-quinze Ans de vie catholique et française en Ontario"; Major Gustave Lanctôt, LL. D., Public Archivist of Canada, " Avantages de l'Eglise sous le régime britannique."

The success of the meeting was largely due to the inspiration of His Excellency the Bishop of London and to the hard work of the local committees.

The following are the officers of the Association for the year 1941-42: *Honorary President*, His Eminence J. M. Rodrigue, Cardinal Villeneuve, O. M. I.; *President General*, Victor Morin, LL. D.; ENGLISH SECTION: *President*, the Reverend Hugh J. Somers, Ph.D.; *First Vice-President*, Brother Alfred, F.S.C., LL.D.; *Second Vice-President*, W. L. Scott, K.C., LL.D.; *Secretary*, James F. Kenney, Ph.D., LL.D., D. Litt.; *Treasurer*, Walter C. Cain; FRENCH SECTION: *President*, the Reverend M. Charland, O.P.; *First Vice-President*, Major Gustave Lanctôt, K.C., LL.D.; *Second Vice-President*, the Reverend Arthur Maheux, D.Th.; *Secretary*, Dr. Seraphin Marion; *Treasurer*, the Reverend Edgar Thivierge, O.M.I.

All who are interested in Spanish American history welcome the reappearance of the quarterly *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, the publication of which had to be suspended six years ago when the civil war broke out in Spain. The quarterly review, devoted to Spanish American church history, is published as previously in Madrid (Joaquín Costa, 72) by the Franciscans of the various provinces of Spain. The thirty-eight volumes that appeared before the war form a rich storehouse of information on the colonial history of Spanish America. Equally rich will be the volumes of the *Segunda Epoca*, to judge from the three numbers that appeared during the past year. Number three, for instance, contains an enlightening article on " Las borracheras y el problema de las conversiones en Indias " (pp. 229-269).

A specimen of fine historical scholarship is *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565–1763*, written by Verne E. Chatelain and published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Washington, D. C., 1941). It is heavily documented and contains, besides a beautiful photographic reproduction of the Castillo de San Marcos and three other equally attractive illustrations, twenty-two charts of inestimable value to the history of Spanish Florida. In citing *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida, 1573–1618* (The Catholic University of America Studies in Hispanic-American History, Volume I) by Maynard Geiger, O. F. M., Dr. Chatelain says that " Geiger has made good use of photostats and transcripts of Spanish records available in the United States, especially the photostats in the

Stetson Collection; and although himself a Franciscan, he has presented the evidence in an impartial and scholarly fashion " (p. 102).

A recent work that should prove both interesting and illuminating to students of Spanish American history is *Política de Vitoria* by Antonio Gómez Robledo (Imprenta Universitaria, Mexico, D. F., 1940). While the author himself may by this time have changed his views regarding Franco and present-day Spain (pp. xiii-xiv), there can be no question as to the scholarly manner in which he unfolds the doctrine of Francisco de Vitoria whom he regards as " the creator of international law " and whose work in this respect he designates with James Brown Scott as being " Latin, Catholic, and Spanish " (pp. vii, viii). This work together with two others that deal with the subject: *Vitoria and the Conquest of America* by Honorio Muñoz, O.P. (Manila, P. I., University of Santo Tomás Press, 1938) and *Hernan Cortés y el derecho internacional en el siglo XVI* by T. Esquivel Obregón (Mexico, D. F., 1939) deserve to be read.

In a brief article published in the Cuban review, *Revista Cubana* of Havana (Vol. XIV, July–December 1940, pp. 5-18), Ramón Menéndez Pidal, distinguished Spanish scholar, discusses the question of Columbus' language. The author's conclusions are as follows: (1) Columbus' mother tongue was the Genoese dialect of his native city; (2) during his stay in Portugal, Columbus learned spoken Portuguese; and (3) Columbus' Spanish, acquired between his twenty-fifth and thirtieth years, was influenced by his earlier knowledge of Portuguese.

Catálogo de Construcciones Religiosas del Estado de Hidalgo is a huge volume published by the Secretaría de Hacienda, México, D. F., in 1940. The following men shared in the gathering of information on the many and beautiful churches of Hidalgo: Luis Azcue y Mancera, Manuel Toussaint, Justino Fernández, and a group of expert artists, architects, and photographers. This is the first of a series of volumes which the Secretaría de Hacienda hopes to dedicate to the religious buildings of the republic. Each state is to be studied separately. There is a fine historical essay introducing the work, numerous photographs, and ground plans. No student of colonial Mexico should miss this work; it does honor to its authors and to the government which published it.

Guía del Archivo de Hacienda is a godsend to students who needed just such a guide in using the documents preserved in the Treasury Department at Mexico City. It is a first-class publication in every sense of the term. Probably the most notable items are those concerning descriptions of Jesuit properties before their confiscation by the government of Charles III in 1767.

The Mexican scholar and historian, Father Jesús García Gutiérrez, whose name appears so regularly in our list of periodical literature, has published what is probably his most important work to date: *Regio patronato Indiano*. Covering the Patronato Real from its inception down to 1857, the work was printed by the Escuela Libre de Derecho as part of the program dedicated to its twenty-fifth anniversary.

One of the best-selling books of history recently brought out in Mexico is *El Porfirismo, 1876-1884* (*Historia de un régimen*). The author is José Valadés, whose *Alaman, Estadista y Historiador* gave promise of the work scholars could expect from Valadés. His plan is to write three volumes on the period of Porfirio Díaz, 1876-1911, a period which has been most inadequately covered up till now. At present, Sr. Valadés is private secretary to Sr. D. Ezequiel Padilla, Mexico's Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

El Golpe de Estado de Juárez by José González Ortega is one of the few books published in modern times which can be construed as an attack on a man who has been almost deified by Mexican liberals, past and present. The book contains many important documents from the private papers of General Jesús González Ortega, who felt that he should have been president in 1865 and who charged Juárez with usurping functions which were not his by legal right. This volume is a valuable addition to our understanding of the complex Reform and Intervention period of Mexican history.

One of the most attractive articles in the recent issue of the *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Esteticas de la Universidad de México* is that concerning the convent of Corpus Christi in Mexico, D. F. Written by a young student of the university, Srta. Josefina Muriel de la Torre, who is acquiring considerable knowledge of the almost uninvestigated convents of women in Mexico, the essay is written largely from original documents discovered by Srta. Muriel in the Archivo General. Since the date of foundation is 1724, rather late in Spain's colonial day, it is of great interest to note that Corpus Christi was founded for the sole purpose of having a place where daughters of local Indian nobles (*caciques*) could follow the contemplative life. Srta. Muriel shows, in one curious note, that a girl who was found to have *Spanish* blood, was ordered to leave the convent, since she did not fulfill the requirement that the girls be of pure Indian blood.

The publishing house, Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, is rendering scholars an extremely valuable service by reprinting the numerous Franciscan chronicles, now so hard to find and so expensive when found. The following have been published up to October, 1941: Motolinia, *Historia de los indios de Nueva España; Cartas de Religiosos;* Pomar-Zurita, *Rela-*

ciones de Texcoco y de la Nueva España. Five additional works are planned and the total will be sixteen volumes. The price of nine pesos ($2.00 U. S.) per volume is very reasonable and should prove attractive to students of Mexican colonial history who have not been able to afford the old and much more expensive rare editions.

Dr. Rodolfo Oroz, member of the Chilean Academy, is the editor of *El Vasauro poema heroico de Pedro de Oña* (Santiago, Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, 1941). The book is a distinct contribution to Spanish American literary and historcal studies.

Now in its second year of publication, the *Revista Nacional de Cultura,* edited by the Ministry of National Education of Venezuela, is one of the better reviews of the country.

The September–October 1941 number of the *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales de Costa Rica* has just appeared. It includes many articles of interest for the study of Central American history.

Dr. Mário Melo, of Recife, is the author of a valuable study on the "Guerra dos Mascates" (1710) published in the *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano* (Vol. XXXVI, 1941, pp. 7-56). The article is followed by a series of hitherto unpublished Portuguese documents on the uprising (pp. 57-148).

The Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, a division of the Brazilian Ministry of Education and Health in charge of Dr. Rodrigo Melo Franco de Andrade, was created a number of years ago for the express purpose of preserving and restoring Brazilian historical and artistic monuments. A recent project is the restoration of the Sabará eighteenth-century smelting house, where Dr. Andrade will eventually install a Minas Gerais mining museum and library. Attention should also be called to the Serviço's publications. The following works were published in 1940: Zoroastro Viana Passos, *Em Torno da História do Sabará; Catálogo Museu Coronel David Carneiro Curitiba—Paraná;* Heloisa Alberto Tôrres, *Arte indígena da Amazônia;* Gilberto Freyre, ed., *Diário ímo do Engenheiro Vauthier 1840–1846;* and *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* (Vol. IV). Two articles from the *Revista* may be singled out: Luiz Camilo de Oliveira Neto, "João Gomes Batista (Nota Preliminar)" (pp. 83-119); and Robert C. Smith, assistant-director of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, "Alguns Desenhos de Arquitetura Existentes no Arquivo Histórico Colonial Português" (pp. 209-249).

Under the editorship of Origenes Lessa, the bi-monthly *Planalto,* published in São Paulo (the first number appeared only last May), promises to become one of the most original of Brazilian reviews. It has counted thus far on the support of many well known Brazilian writers and contains articles on literature, art, and history. *Planalto* is to be congratulated on its attempt to break down the intellectual frigidity which has always marked Brazil's relations with Spanish America.

Dr. Afonso de E. Taunay, director of the Museu Paulista of São Paulo and member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, is the author of a monograph, "Silva Leme e o povoamento do Brasil central pelos paulistas", published in the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo* (Vol. XXXVIII, 1940, pp. 145-166). No one certainly is better qualified than he to write on *Paulista* expansion. Snr. Taunay is also the editor of the second volume of the second edition of Pedro Taques de Almeida Pais Leme's classic *Nobiliarquia Paulistana,* which appears in the same *Revista* (Vol. XXXIX, 1941, pp. 5-532).

Despite the war in China, Macau historians have continued to dedicate themselves to historical studies. In the June-August, 1941, issue of the *Arquivos de Macau,* which appears under the auspices of the colonial government, Snr. José Maria Braga publishes the first pages of a long article entitled "Os alvores da impressão xilográfica em Macau" (pp. 245-248).

The second volume of Father Manuel Teixeira's *Macau e a sua diocese* (Macau, Imprensa Nacional, 1940) has recently been published. The work is of interest both for the history of Portugal and of the Church in China. Also from Father Teixeira's pen is *Sanchoão Morte de S. Francisco Xavier. Peregrinações ao seu sepulcro* (Macau, Imprensa Nacional, 1941).

The government of Portuguese India is to be warmly congratulated on the publication of a new and enlarged edition of the *Arquivo Português Oriental.* Thus far, ten thick volumes have appeared (Bastorá, India Portuguesa, 1936-1940).

The Reverend Alfred Kaufman, S.J. died on October 2. He had been Professor of History and Director of the Department in Creighton University for more than a quarter of a century. He had been a member of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1922 and contributed many reviews to the *C H R.*

Professor Charles Hallan McCarthy died on December 22 at the age of eighty-one. He received his historical training at the University of Pennsylvania, where, as a student of James Bach McMaster, he took his doctorate in 1898. He wrote: *Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction; Civil Government in the United States; A History of the United States for Catholic Schools.* For thirty-five years he held a chair of American history at the Catholic University of America. He occupied various administrative positions at the University and was especially active in the foundation of the Knights of Columbus fellowships. His many students will remember him with affection as an inspiring teacher and kindly gentleman.

The Reverend Bertrand Kurtscheid, O.F.M., Professor of the History of Canon Law at the Apollinare in Rome, died recently. He was well known among English readers through the translaton of his work on the history of the seal of confession.

An appreciation of the late Father Paul Walsh by Father Francis Shaw, S.J. and one of Dom Louis Gougaud by Father John Ryan, S.J. appear in the September number of *Studies*.

An attractive brochure, *Ursuline Tradition and Progress*, has been issued in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Angela Merici, founder of the Ursuline Sisters. The main sections are devoted to prose and poetry contributions of Ursuline Sisters in the United States with a third section given over to four short essays on Education and the final section to three brief sketches of an historical nature. These historical sketches are on the "Status of Ursulines of the Roman Union", "First Century of the Catholic Church in Montana: Ursulines' Contribution", and "The Ursulines of Alaska." The next number of the annual will contain an essay on the Ursulines in New Orleans and the Franco-American Province of the order in Maine.

A jubilee of more than ordinary interest to the history of the Church in the United States was marked on November 10-12 in Baltimore when the Sulpician Fathers celebrated the double anniversary of the three hundredth year since their founding and the one hundred and fiftieth year since their arrival in the United States. The Society of St. Sulpice had its beginnings when Fathers Olier, de Foix, and du Ferrier settled down in the unpretentious residence in Vaugirard a few miles from Paris on December 29, 1641. A century and a half was to pass before the arrival of Father Nagot and his associates in Baltimore on July 10, 1791 to begin the work of founding the first seminary in our country. The Sulpicians have continued their work of training American priests and at present conduct seven institutions for this purpose in the archdioceses of Baltimore and Washington, and San Francisco, and the diocese of Seattle.

On Tuesday, November 11, a gathering of thousands of their alumni and friends assembled in the Fifth Regiment Armory in Baltimore for the Solemn Pontifical Mass celebrated by the Most Reverend Michael J. Curley. His Eminence, Dennis Cardinal Dougherty presided and the occasion was marked by one of the largest gatherings of the hierarchy yet seen in America. There were one hundred and three bishops present to do honor to the Sulpicians on their day of jubilee.

The Church of St. Vincent de Paul, the first French parish in New York City, celebrated its hundredth anniversary from November 8-11. The parish was established under the direction of the Fathers of Mercy. Connected with the church are schools, an orphan asylum, a hospital, a home for working girls, and a home for the aged. The first pastor, Father Lafont, S.P.M. brought the first four Christian Brothers to this country to teach in his parochial school. The present pastor is the Reverend Salvatore Piccirillo, S.P.M.

Starting October 12 through October 16 the Holy Trinity parish in Brooklyn, New York, celebrated its centenary. This church is the mother of the German parishes in the diocese. The present pastor is the Reverend George H. Herget.

Reverend Joseph I. Hartmann, assistant pastor of St. Joseph's Parish, Maumee, Ohio, is the author of an attractive brochure, *Through a Hundred Years. An Historical Sketch of St. Joseph's Parish, Maumee, Ohio, 1841-1941*. The booklet contains a number of fine cuts, several charts, a facsimile of a deed of September 7, 1842 by which the parish secured its first property and which was drawn up and signed by Morrison R. Waite, later Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and facsimiles of the signatures of the priests who served the parish from 1841. Among the first of these were Father Amadeus Rappe (1841-1847), who became in the latter year first bishop of Cleveland, and Louis DeGoesbriand, who served as assistant pastor from 1846-1848. Five years later DeGoesbriand was made the first bishop of Burlington.

Documents: The *Centiloquium* Attributed to Ockham. Part III. Philotheus Boehner, O. F. M. (*Franciscan Studies*, Sept.).—The Bishops and Reform, 1831-3: Some Fresh Correspondence [Letters of Van Mildert, the last prince bishop of Durham, to Archdeacon Thorp, first warden of the University at Durham]. Edward Hughes (*English Histor. Rev.*, July).—Mazzini to Margaret Fuller, 1847-1849 [six letters with an introduction and notes]. Leona Rostenberg (*Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Oct.).—Letters of Charles Carroll, Barister, [cont.]. (*Maryland Histor. Mag.*, Sept.).—Elementos de historia Guadalupana documentos mencionados por los autores [continúa]. (*Vos Guadalupana*, May, 1941).—*Documentos interesantes para a história e costumes de São Paulo*, Vol. XIV (São Paulo, 1940), contains the official correspondence of Dom Luiz António de Sousa Botelho Mourão, colonial governor of São Paulo, to various local officials written during the years 1765-1771.—A letter of Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil. Manoel S. Cardozo (*Hispanic American Histor. Rev.*, Nov.).

BRIEF NOTICES

Artz, Frederick B. *A Guide to the Intellectual History of Europe.* (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1941. Pp. xix, 140. $1.75.) This textbook is a syllabus for an elementary course in the intellectual history of Europe. Under such headings as "Renaissance Ideas and Ideals", the author groups readings in some of the great works of European culture. *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* and Randall's *Making of the Modern Mind* are the most frequent references for biographical and background material. Occasionally Professor Artz gives a point or two about the importance of a particular reading. For almost all the readings there is a list of questions, some of them surprisingly pedestrian.

The volume has serious faults. Professor Artz apparently does not distinguish between cultural and intellectual history. This book is not adequate as a guide to cultural history. As it deals, though very sketchily, with music, the fine arts, and *belles lettres,* and fails to consider Aristotle, St. Thomas, and Kant, it has little value for intellectual history, despite the author's claim that "these readings tap the main currents of the intellectual life of the Western World from the close of antiquity to the middle of the nineteenth century" (p. v). Roger Bacon is the only mediaeval philosopher who is considered as worth a reading. The book is almost as faulty on modern scientific thought.

Even if these defects were remedied, the reviewer questions the value of so cursory a survey of thought. (Matthew A. Fitzsimons)

Baker, George Claude, Jr. *An Introduction to the History of Early New England Methodism, 1789-1839.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1941. Pp. vii, 145. $2.50.) One third of this little book consists of bibliography, in which all but the first few items deal with printed sources, available for the most part in libraries in the vicinity of Boston and New York. In effect, it is therefore a check-list of pertinent material, classified according to primary and secondary value.

The introductory part is expository rather than argumentative. In spite of its necessarily sketchy presentation, sufficient details are worked in to give a clear picture of the cultural differences which marked off the Methodists in New England from their more prosperous neighbors among the Calvinistic "elect". The appeal of Methodism to the workingman primarily, its customary lack of interest in church buildings, and its failure to advocate higher education either for its ministers or its members, all combined, the author believes, to account for the comparatively uninfluential position of Methodism in the intellectual and cultural life of New England. Furthermore, the issues of temperance and of slavery, which grew increasingly important as the period covered by this book was drawing to a close, widened the gap between these two dissenting sects instead of bringing them into closer fellowship. The objective way in which the author brings out these features against a background of the social and economic history of the times results in a very useful narrative, noteworthy for its good judgment, balance, and restraint.

One fault in documentation, not peculiar to this author, but found altogether too frequently in American historical brochures, is where references are made to legislative acts and court decisions without the official citations being given (pp. 42-43). (MIRIAM THERESA ROONEY)

BARON, SALO WITTMAYER (Ed.) *Bibliography of Jewish Social Studies, 1938-39.* (New York: Conference on Jewish Relations. 1941. Pp. 291. $3.00.) This volume is to some extent a by-product of the quarterly periodical, *Jewish Social Studies,* now in its third year and also published under the auspices of the Conference on Jewish Relations. Professor Baron, who is an editor of the periodical, is also the author of a three-volume *Social and Religious History of the Jews* (cf. *Catholic Historical Review,* XXIV, 80-81). The present volume reproduces, with additions and an index, material published in two earlier numbers of *Jewish Social Studies.* Its title alludes to the name of that periodical, and gives therefore only a much obscured notion of the actual contents. The bibliography comprises a collection of well-classified notices, many of them annotated. Its scope is what might be expected of an editor whose personal publication includes the entire social and religious history of the Jews. Any book or article in any language which could be of interest to the student of Jewish history and life may be presumed included, if published in 1938 or 1939; forty pages of additions to the original content suggest that by now few indeed have been missed. A remarkable number of countries and languages are represented, in token of a widespread literary activity, much of which has since been violently uprooted. The variety of subjects reported on extends, for example, from theological studies on the Old Testament by Catholics to writings on philosophy, anti-semitism, and Hebrew linguistics. The author index that has been added is of a surprising thoroughness. It furnishes nearly everyone with a correct first and middle name, though these may be nowhere indicated in the publication cited, or in the notice given of it. Though such a compilation cuts across the field of a number of recognized bibliographies, it may serve to supplement any of them. It is in some ways a model of its kind, and its continuance over a period of years would make it valuable indeed. (PATRICK W. SKEHAN)

BARON, SALO WITTMAYER (Ed.) *Essays On Maimonides.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 316. $3.75.) Most of the essays which compose this volume were read at Casa de las Españas, Columbia University on March 30, 1935 in celebration of the eight-hundredth anniversary of Moses ben Maimon. Additional contributions were sent in shortly after the celebration. Maimonides as a philosopher, as a scientist, as a leader and law-giver, as a physician, an economist, a "guide for the perplexed", a biblical scholar, and as a theologian represent the subjects treated and show at the same time the many sides to the character of this twelfth century Jewish luminary.

The importance of this volume for scholastic philosophers and historians of that system will arise of course from the profound influence of Maimonides upon succeeding generations of philosophers, not excluding the schoolmen of the thirteenth century. The greatest of the Jewish aristotelians, Maimonides gave a powerful impulse to the study of the physical and metaphysical works of Aristotle. The relative freedom of the Jews of Moorish Spain as contrasted with the persecution of their Arabian contemporaries, permitted the widest discussion of the Greek philosophers amongst these eleventh and twelfth century Jewish savants, and the translation of important Greek thought into Hebrew. Thus it was handed down to the Christian scholars. Christian theologians of the thirteenth century at the University of Paris, for example, Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas, while listing his errors, do not hesitate to quote him with respect on such questions as the proofs for the existence of God, the attributes of God, and creation. While somewhat uneven in merit these essays present in a generally careful and scholarly manner the full significance of this second Moses among Jewish thinkers. (Charles A. Hart)

Barr, Mary-Margaret H. *Voltaire in America, 1744-1800.* (Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Volume XXXIX). (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1941. Pp. 150. $1.25.) It demands the mature and rounded erudition of a Paul Hazard, a Fernand Baldensperger, or a Gilbert Chinard to realize the possibilities of a comparative study. Such investigations require a ripe knowledge of two or more civilizations which is rarely at the disposition of the younger scholar. Consequently, many doctoral dissertations in this field fail to assimilate and evaluate fully the materials they have gathered, and often take on the tone of a catalogue.

Miss Barr's book is a valuable repertory of facts on the physical diffusion of Voltaire's work in the America of the second half of the eighteenth century. Following somewhat in the path of Paul M. Spurlin's *Montesquieu in America, 1761-1801,* it is characterized by a similar careful attention to detail. The author has combed American newspapers and magazines of the period; she has tracked down Voltaire material in a large number of contemporary book catalogs, a useful and often neglected index of diffusion. But like the Montesquieu volume, the book falls short in relating its material to the main currents of eighteenth century American culture. Admittedly, this is difficult to do. Miss Barr herself is aware of it when she says: "...he (Voltaire) undoubtedly had a powerful effect on all sorts and conditions of men; but in many cases without leaving any definite evidence of which posterity may be certain."

From the data it appears that Voltaire as a personality interested readers of periodicals and newspapers more than his actual work. He was regarded in conservative and clerical circles as the archenemy of religion and a prime force in bringing about the French Revolution. His historical and philosophical writings, especially the *Traité sur la tolérance,* had a far wider diffusion than his purely literary works. Five of Voltaire's plays—*L'Orphelin de la Chine, Zaire, Mahomet, l'Ecossaise,* and *l'Indiscret*—were presented in translation during the period.

The structure of the book is clear and intelligent; if the manner of presentation often amounts to cataloging, it is difficulty inherent in the material itself. The bibliographies are full and competent. Miss Barr has previously published two useful Voltaire bibliographies: *A Bibliography of Writings on Voltaire, 1825-1925* (New York, 1929), and "Bibliographical Data on Voltaire from 1926 to 1930" (*Modern Language Notes,* May, 1933). Especially valuable is a list of booksellers' catalogs, which will form a necessary *instrument de travail* for the study of the reading habits of eighteenth century Americans. (JOHN L. BROWN)

CLAPHAM, J. H. and EILEEN POWER (Eds.). *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe.* I. *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1941. Pp. xvii, 650. $7.50.) The names of Professor Clapham of the University of Cambridge and of the late Miss Power are sufficient recommendation that this volume is of the highest scholarship. Among its fifteen contributors are mediaevalists so well known as Alfons Dopsch of Vienna, Marc Bloch of Paris, François Ganshoft of Ghent, and Nellie Neilson of our own country. For a composite work the quality is remarkably uniform. One of the most brilliant syntheses in the book is Richard Koebner's contribution on "The Settlement and Colonisation of Europe." There are chapters too on agricultural techniques, on the concentration of landed wealth, on the transition to the high Middle Ages.

Long ago students of mediaeval town life and commerce shattered the curious idea that the Middle Ages formed a static period in the history of Europe. Actually of course, few generalizations about the Middle Ages are valid. It all depends on the time and place one is talking about. Men were far from frozen to their class. The record abounds with examples of serfs who became freemen, of freemen who became great ecclesiastics, who entered the ranks of the nobility, etc. All in all, there was perhaps more of a chance for the talented individual to rise out of his class in the eighth or eleventh century than for him to do so today. Immigration to new settlements in the forests at the invitation of some baron or abbot almost always meant a rise in status.

As one reads this comprehensive volume, it is impossible not to wonder how in our own day we shall ever solve this problem of the widespread ownership of porductive property by the masses. The Middle Ages reached a solution of a sort, a kind of hereditary lease-hold on land owned by king, noble, and Church, but most of the original free-holdings of the barbarian settlers in the Empire were turned into servile holdings early in the Middle Ages. No really effective way was found of checking the tendency of the great landowners to expand continuously at the expense of the poor.

This is a volume which should be on the shelves of all mediaevalists, economists, and particularly on those of the modern agrarian reformers. (WALTER JOHN MARX)

De Beata Virgine Dei Matre Maria Poema da Vigem composto por José de Anchieta quando refem dos selvagens em Iperoig texto latino versão portuguesa do P. e Armando Cardoso S. I. Edição do Arquivo Nacional 1940 Rio de Janeiro in *Arquivo Nacional,* XXXVII (Rio de Janeiro: Oficinas

Gráficas do Arquivo Nacional. 1940. Pp. xlvi, 441.) The year 1940 marked the eighth centenary of the existence of Portugal as a nation and the fourth centenary of the official founding of the Society of Jesus. In honor of these two anniversaries, both of which were widely celebrated in Brazil, Dr. Ernesto Vilhena de Morais, director of the National Archives of Rio, took upon himself the responsibility of publishing, under the archives' auspices, a commemorative edition of Father José de Anchieta's *De Beata Virgine Dei Matre Maria*.

In his letter to the Jesuit General Laínez, begun at the end of December, 1564 and finished at the beginning of the following month, Anchieta speaks of a peace mission to the Tamoio Indians, in 1563, at their settlement some ninety miles from Santos. It was during his stay with the savages of Iperoíg that he made the solemn promise of writing a poem to the Virgin if she she would free him from the dangers which then beset him.

The result of this vow was *De Beata Virgine Dei Matre Maria*, a long, rather tedious poem in the Latin language which was published by Simão de Vasconcelos, S.J., for the first time in 1663 and again in 1672. Since then the composition has merited the attention of many writers; but no thought was given to its appearance in the vernacular.

A brief preface by Dr. Vilhena de Morais opens the present volume. This is followed by an historical-literary appreciation of the poem by Father Armando Cardoso, S.J., in which its historical background, its authenticity, its form, its influence, and its editions are discussed. Next are given the Latin and Portuguese texts of the poem, the latter version being the work of Father Cardoso as well. These, in turn, are followed by Anchieta's *Horae Immaculatissimae Conceptionis* and Father Cardoso's translation of the same.

Dr. Vilhena de Morais, the National Archives, and in particular Father Cardoso are to be congratulated on their project. The new edition will satisfy the curiosity of many. For the first time, the poem is available in a vernacular tongue; and the recent printing of it will now make it possible for more people to read the canticle of faith and love which Father Anchieta wrote to the Virgin. (Manoel S. Cardozo)

Ergang, Robert. Washington Square College, New York University. *The Potsdam Führer, Frederick William I, Father of Prussian Militarism.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 290. $3.00.) Like Henry VII of England, Frederick William I of Prussia has been overshadowed by his better known son. Yet it is scarcely possible to conceive how Henry VIII and Frederick the Great could have achieved their fame without the work of their fathers. So eclipsed has been Frederick William I by his son that this is the first biography in English of the chief builder of the Prussian army.

The title is well chosen. Frederick William I believed in exalting the state and in subordinating practically every thing to the army. Upon his accession he dismissed all the unnecessary officers and palace servants, reduced salaries, limited the expenses for receptions given to ambassadors and foreign princes, and sold a large part of the royal jewelry and furniture. Throughout his reign he adhered to a rigid economy which included every department, even the royal kitchen, except one. Thus he was able to spend such vast sums on the army that it grew from 38,459 men at the beginning of his reign to 83,446 men in twenty-seven years. It was emphasized by him to the extent that he was inclined to put a man with military experience in a civil position and to accept the enlistment of a tall man or money from a wealthy subject as a substitute for punishment provided no blood had been shed.

No doubt the book will attract the layman's attention because of its title. Will that alone induce him to read a book? Generally it will not if a long biography with involved sentences follows. This is fortunately not Dr. Ergang's manner of presentation. He has written a very readable book. In the first two chapters he has linked Frederick William I with both the present and the past and in the last two with his successor. The other nine chapters present Frederick William I in all his activities with enough concrete examples to warrant his conclusions. If the reader is an historian, he will be further satisfied with the adequate citations, the bibliography, and the index. (MARY LUCILLE SHAY)

ESPINER-SCOTT, JANET GIRVAN. *Claude Fauchet, sa vie, son oeuvre.* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz. 1938. Pp. 450. Frs. 60.) The study of mediaeval French literature and history was first inspired by that universal curiosity engendered in France by the Renaissance. Side by side with the rhetorical history writing which uncritically imitated classical models, there existed a dawning consciousness of another type of history which aspired to exact documentation and scientific detachment.

The sixteenth century produced an avid race of scholars—P. Pithou, the Estiennes, J. J. Scaliger, Budé, Pasquier, Fauchet—whose learning, ardor, and breadth are still impressive. They are largely unknown figures. There is no satisfactory account of the pioneer achievements of Budé; the book of Delaruelle treats only about half of his work. There is no full-length treatment of Etienne Pasquier, whose *Recherches de la France* is a rich depository of antiquarian lore concerning mediaeval French language, institutions, and history. And the present study by Janet Girvan Espiner-Scott is the first modern approach to Claude Fauchet (1536-1601), a name of major importance in Renaissance scholarship.

The monograph is admirably disposed and documented. In actuality, it generously transcends its subject, presenting a rounded sketch of sixteenth century French erudition with Fauchet as the central point of reference. Unprovided with the tools and shortcuts of modern research, Fauchet plunged into a jungle of mediaeval manuscripts; by a firsthand scrutiny of these texts, he produced in his *Antiquitez* and his *Recueil* two works which, for his time, represent an unusually high level of scholarly achievement. Mrs. Espiner-Scott remarks: ". . . l'immense documentation et l'esprit critique . . . caractérisent les *Antiquitez*. Fauchet compare, choisit, combine ses autorités diverses, et il en resulte une histoire de Gaule et de France sous les deux premières races, presque entièrement purgée de fables" (pp. 367-368).

The *Recueil* of Fauchet, filled with observations on the *chansons de geste*, the romances, Chrétien de Troyes, etc. remained an almost unique document until the nineteenth century "rediscovered" the Middle Ages. Fauchet's minor works are of interest to the mediaevalist. They include *traités* on such subjects as the *Origine des chevaliers, armoiries, et hérauts; Les Melanges*, dealing with arms and weapons, and employing an extremely large and precise technical vocabulary; *Les Libertez de l'Eglise gallicane*; and a *Traité pour le couronnement du Roy Henry IV*. But in these, as in his other works, Fauchet, like Pasquier, remains essentially an antiquarian, rather than an historian proper.

In completeness and careful documentation, this book of Mrs. Espiner-Scott leaves nothing to be desired. Her account of Fauchet is based on a painstaking study of contemporary manuscript and printed materials. She has an intimate acquaintance with the modern literature. Her bibliographies are rich in their indications on the whole nexus of literary culture and historical erudition in France in the second half of the sixteenth century. If that history of French humanism, so needed in Renaissance studies, which Raymond Le Begue has projected as a collaborative undertaking, is ever to be written, it will necessarily be an outgrowth and a synthesis of monographs of the sort of which Mrs. Espiner-Scott has given such a commendable model. (JOHN L. BROWN)

HANDLIN, OSCAR. Instructor in History, Harvard University. *Boston's Immigrants, 1790-1865. A Study in Acculturation.* Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. L. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 287. $3.25.) The fiftieth volume of the Harvard Historical Studies is the result of an exceedingly careful study of the immigrants who entered Boston from the close of the eighteenth century to the end of the Civil War. It grew out of a doctoral dissertation done under the direction of Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger in 1940. The reviewer has nothing but praise for the thoroughness with which Mr. Handlin has done his work. It is equipped with everything one might expect in a study of this kind, including twenty-eight tables in the appendices which give valuable data on the trends in immigration in different years, the personnel of the early factories, nationality of citizens of the Boston area, prison commitments, etc. Moreover, there is a helpful note on the sources, eleven illustrations, and a satisfactory index.

The story is, of course, largely that of the Irish who found a not-too-happy refuge from the griefs which tormented their lives in the Ireland of the mid-nineteenth century. Mr. Handlin is at pains to show their numbers, employment, religious and recreational activities, and the relations existing between them and the native and non-Irish immigrant population. The narrative is well written and the picture given is one of genuine interest not only to the social historian but as well to the historian of the Catholic Church in this country.

In a brief notice of this length, it is not possible to say much more about the book, but the reviewer should like to mention a few points. While the Church did not give sympathy to much of the reform legislation sponsored in Massachusetts early in the last century, there is the possibility that the author in his discussion on this matter might give the impression that the Church is opposed to reform movements as such (p. 138). But that is not the case, as her backing of the scattered efforts against indecent literature of late years as well as the movement of the Legion of Decency for the reform of the films, inaugurated by the Church, bear witness. A few items which could be used with profit are missing from the author's footnote citations or note on sources. For example, the study of Sister Blanche Marie McEniry on *American Catholics in the War with Mexico* (Washington, 1937) would have been helpful in Mr. Handlin's treatment of that subject. One likewise misses the monograph of Joseph F. Thorning, *Religious Liberty in Transition* (Washington, 1931) for the subject of repeal of the anti-Catholic laws in Massachusetts. Finally a reading of Professor Guilday's article, "Gaetano Bedini," in the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society (XXIV, 87-131) would probably have altered the author's view of Bedini as one "who had been connected with the massacre of revolutionaries in Bologna" (p. 205).

There are very few slips in the volume. One should read "fortiter" for "fortitur" (p. 148) and "St. Brendan" for "St. Brandon" (p. 149). And a priest never "serves" his Mass for his congregation but "says" or "reads" it (p. 169). Dr. Handlin has seized upon a basic point in speaking of the attitude of the Boston Irish upon the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, which many who suspect Catholics of disloyalty to their government should read and ponder, when he says: "Complete acceptance of lawfully established government was basic to the thinking of all Irish Catholics" (p. 217). (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

JONES, CHARLES W. *Bedae Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings Falsely Attributed to Bede.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1939. Pp. xv, 154. $3.00.) This work is a very valuable contribution to mediaeval studies. As is well known, a number of mediaeval scientific treatises of very unequal value have been attributed to Bede, and the question of their true authorship has hitherto not been studied systematically and critically. On the basis of an examination of the manuscript tradition and of the printed editions of these writings, Professor Jones has attempted to determine which works are genuine and which have been falsely ascribed to Bede. At the same time, he has tried, whenever possible, to show how the false attributions came to be made and to indicate the place and date of composition of the *pseudepigrapha*. The discussion of authorship, etc., in each case is short but adequate. The data furnished on the contents and faults of the printed editions of Bede—all are bad—and on the MSS. containing the computistical writings in question will be very useful not only to students of Bede but also to those interested in mediaeval science in general.

For the convenience of his readers Professor Jones' treatment follows the order of the works ascribed to Bede in Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* Vol. XC. It is to be regretted, however, that he has not drawn up at the end a list of the writings which he would ascribe to Bede with more or less certainty and those which be considers *pseudepigrapha.* As matters now stand, one has to read Professor Jones' discussion of each work and draw up such a list himself.

An appendix contains, among other valuable items, a new critical text of an anonymous commentary on Bede's *De Temporum Ratione.* There are three indices: Index and Description of Manuscripts (pp. 111-140), Index of

Citations from *Patrologia Latina,* and General Index. The book is accurately and beautifully printed.

It is hoped that a badly needed critical edition of Bede's computistical writings will soon be published by Professor Jones and take its place beside Professor Laistner's excellent edition of Bede's *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum et Retractatio* (cf. *Catholic Historical Review,* XXVII, 221). (Martin R. P. McGuire)

Jones, Tom B. *A Short History of Ancient Civilization.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1941. Pp. 378. $2.25.) This textbook was prepared to cover the first part of the history of civilization course which has become so widespread in American colleges. On the whole, it is sketchy and superficial. To present the story of man from palaeolithic times to the fall of the Roman Empire in less than four hundred short pages is simply not possible. The book, however, has some stimulating pages and is certainly not inferior to several similar texts recently published. In his account of the early history of the Near East, the author neglects to mention the role of the Hurrites, and his account of Christianity is not satisfactory. (Martin R. P. McGuire)

Klein, Edward J. (Ed.) *The Imitation of Christ: From the First Edition of an English Translation Made c. 1530 by Richard Whitford.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1941. Pp. lxi, 261. $3.00.) This latest version of the *Imitation of Christ* is, in truth, the earliest translation into English of the entire work. Only a few words and phrases, completely unintelligible to the modern reader, have been changed, and even those have been replaced with synonyms from Whitford's other works. The result it a translation of our best loved book of devotion in simple lilting prose, the rhythms of which have come down to us in the great translations of the Bible made some three generations later. To one accustomed to reading the *Imitation* in the latinate versions most commonly in use, a return to the limpid cadences of Whitford, so faithfully preserved by Father Klein, is a refreshing and enlivening experience.

The present popular edition of Whitford's translation of the *Imitation* is the fruit of years of patient bibliographical and editorial research, the results of which are to be published in an edition by the Early English Text Society. The latter edition will constitute an important contribution to the history of English prose, supporting R. W. Chambers' widely acclaimed (and disputed) thesis of the development of English prose through Catholic works of devotion as set forth some years ago in his essay "On the Continuity of English Prose." It is the fruit also of the first study of the place of the *Imitation of Christ* in English Literature, for although, as Father Klein points out, the *Imitation* is one of the works most highly praised by English men of letters, it has received little consideration from historians of literature and none at all from the makers of anthologies. To the student of literature and of social history, the edition to be published by the Early English Text Society will be of first importance. To the general reader and the lover of pleasantly melodic prose Harper's beautifully printed book will be a delight. Unlike most *Imitations* this edition rests easily in the hand and has a page that comforts the eye.

It is pleasant to consider in these restless and anxious days the persistent survival of the present version of the *Imitation of Christ*. Written in the turbulent northern Europe of the fifteenth century by a man so self-effacing that the authorship is disputed even today, translated in the next century by a gentleman and scholar who forsook a promising career to become a monk of Syon and was noted later as a stubborn recusant in an England torn and bewildered on the issues of faith, the *Imitation* is renewed for us today by another scholar's selfless and devoted toil. Father Klein's work best illustrates its own motto: "Men pass lightly away, but the truth of God abideth forever." (SISTER M. EMMANUEL COLLINS)

KNAPLUND, PAUL. *The British Empire, 1815-1939.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1941. Pp. xx, 850. $4.00.) Professor Knaplund has sought to present within the limited scope of this book what to him seemed most essential to know and understand in the history of the British Empire from its reconstruction after the Napoleonic wars to the outbreak of World War II. Thoroughly conservative, he is of the opinion that the Empire eventually came to represent not so much a political system as a way of life. As such it owed much to the temper, customs, and traditions of the English people, and even more to economic, political, and social conditions peculiar to the Victorian era. In previous centuries Englishmen had developed a system of government which protected the rights of the individual, established the supremacy of a special type of law, and laid the basis for democratic institutions. This governmental system was not derived from abstract thinking. A result of human action, it could not be attributed to human design. No Hammurabi, Moses, or Solon drafted the English common law or invented the English political institutions. They matured through the use of empirical methods in efforts to solve complex political and economic problems. Like Topsy, both the English constitution and the Empire "just growed." This scholarly but somewhat pedestrian volume is a mine of information on nearly every phase of imperial relations and policy during the past century and a quarter. Without probing very deeply beneath the surface of things, and scrupulously avoiding those awkward questions which precede, accompany, and remain to plague all highly unscrupulous imperialisms, Professor Knaplund is content to present the more pleasant and constructive side of that hardfisted, haphazard, and oftimes harrowing progress of Tommy Atkins in faraway islands and kingdoms. The book contains thirty-one maps, a list of British imperial officials, a brief working bibliography for students, and a satisfactory index. (JOHN J. O'CONNOR)

LAVIES, JOHN G., and PETER LEO JOHNSON (Compilers). *Location and Detailed Description of Early Catholic Church Property in the Archdiocese of Milwaukee.* (Milwaukee: Limited complimentary edition, distributed from the Chancery Office of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee. 1941. Pp. 6, 83.) In the last twenty years an ever growing interest in the influence of the Catholic Church on American history has manifested itself. Partly as the cause, and partly as the result of this interest, there comes from the press a considerable number of scholarly works on this phase of American history. However, would-be authors constantly complain that the condition of diocesean archives makes the research for such work exceptionally difficult. In most cases systematic cataloging of such depositories is absent, materials have been carried away when ecclesiastical changes have sent priests and bishops to other locations, deeds for property and other local state papers have not been copied and deposited in the chancery offices. The little book under review is a laudable attempt to remedy one of these difficulties.

As the Church followed the changing frontier population in the vicinity of southeastern Wisconsin, parishes were established which in many instances only had a temporary existence, for the population following the attraction of better homes, deserted the neighborhood of their first choice. The church property was sold, or turned to other purposes, and today any trace of these "ghost" churches was on the way to oblivion, when the authors came to the rescue. From old directories, reminiscences, oral and written traditions, they traced the sites of vanished church property to the various county record offices, copied the deeds, and drew ground plans of eighty-three church establishments which no longer exist. Each page in the book is a plan of a particular property, drawn to scale, and carrying a paragraph of descriptive material with references to the provenance of such information. It is evident how helpful this will be to the writer of Catholic Church history.

The authors deserve great credit for what they have done. A similar set of plans should be made for existing church property, and if all the dioceses in the country would compile similar records, an invaluable contribution toward solving one of the difficulties of historians would be accomplished. (RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON)

LUTZ, CORA E. (Ed.). *Iohannis Scotti Annotationes in Marcianum.* [Mediaeval Academy of America Publication No. 34.] (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1939. Pp. xxx, 244. $3.50; to members of Academy, $2.80.) This book, in part an elaboration of a Yale doctoral dissertation, constitutes the first published edition of John the Scot's commentary on the *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* of Martianus Capella. This commentary is important for our knowledge of John the Scot and also for that of the liberal arts in the Middle Ages. It has been preserved in a single Ms. (*Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds. lat.*, Ms. 12960). In spite of the disadvantages arising from the existence of a unique Ms.—and one by no means perfect—the editor seems to have done her work well. She has been largely content, however, to transcribe her text faithfully, without attempting much in the way of emendation.

The following points are covered in the Introduction: 1. History and Authorship; 2. Content; 3. Sources; 4. Style; 5. Description of the Manuscript; 6. The Present Edition. I should have liked to have a much fuller and more systematic treatment of the sources and style, but the editor disarms criticism on this score by stating in her Preface that her main purpose has been "simply to make available this important treatise." Her procedure in matters orthographical is not happy in my opinion, since she presents a text partly classical and partly mediaeval in form. It would have been better to have adopted the classical or the mediaeval orthography exclusively.

There are three appendices (the one on Dunchad being especially interesting and valuable) and an *Index Nominum et Locorum*. It is a pity that the editor did not add an *Index Scriptorum* and an *Index Verborum* (including Greek). Such indices are readily indispensable for the easy and effective use of a text of this kind. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

MCKEE, IRVING (Ed.) *The Trial of Death. Letters of Benjamin Marie Petit.* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1941. Pp. 141. 75c.) Mr. Irving McKee of the Culver Military Academy has given us through this publication of the Indiana Historical Society twenty-seven interesting letters of Father Benjamin Marie Petit, missionary to the Potowatomi Indians of northern Indiana. They range in time from the first written on April 17, 1836 from St. Sulpice where he was a student, to that of January 18, 1839 written from St. Louis to Bishop Bruté less than a month before the young priest's death. Eleven are addressed to Bishop Bruté, several to his family, and several to government officials. These letters tell the story of a noble priestly effort made to save the souls of the Redmen whom he loved, as well as to save their temporal possessions from confiscation at the hands of a greedy government in Washington. In the latter effort he failed, and the letter of November 13, 1838 to his bishop reveals the pathetic journey of these Indians who were forced to move—and Father Petit moved with them—to lands across the Mississippi (pp. 97-106). Mr. McKee has furnished a good Introduction to the letters and has included in appendices Father Petit's journal which runs from October 16, 1837 to December 29, 1838. His baptismal register is also printed in the appendices.

The letters of Petit have been copied and translated for the most part from the originals in the Archives of the University of Notre Dame. The work of editing and translating has been carefully done on the whole, though faulty translations here and there make the sense obscure. For example, such rendering as "agreeably to your letter dated July 28" (p. 87) and "it is not the least of the world in my power" (p. 88) make rough going for the reader. Other examples were noted on pages 89 and 107, and the editor translates the word *évêché* too literally as "diocese", for it may also mean bishop's house, bishop's office, chancery, or bishopric. In note 68, page 57 one should read St. Joseph's rather than Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg.

However, these minor points are not mentioned in any effort to detract from the contribution which Mr. McKee has made in giving a wider audience to this splendid tale of missionary zeal and loyalty. Each little contribution of this kind helps to fill in the gaps yet remaining in the history of the Church in our country, and we may hope that the editor will pursue his work further and tap more extensively the riches of the archival collection at the University of Notre Dame for the history of the Church in the Middle West. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

Robledo, Antonio Gómez. *The Bucareli Agreements and International Law.* Translated by Dr. Solomón de la Selva. (Mexico, D. F.: National University of Mexico Press. 1940. Pp. xiii, 229.) This highly controversial and provocative essay was written by a professor of international law at the National University of Mexico in 1937 to commemorate the silver jubilee of the Free School of Law in Mexico City, at which the author also teaches. The Bucareli Agreements were called such because they were concluded at 85 Bucareli Avenue in Mexico City between representatives of the Mexican and American governments. The Bucareli conferences, initiated on May 14, 1923, principally dealt with the juridical status of the soil and subsoil under the Mexican constitution of 1917. Professor Robledo argues that at these conferences "wrong tenets were invariably chosen and applied to the detriment of Mexico's interests." Hence he denounces the injustice of the pact which resulted from those meetings.

His thesis is that always down to 1884 direct dominion over hydrocarbons was vested first, in the Spanish, and later in the Mexican, state. In that year a Mexican mining code was promulgated. Two opposing juridical schools grew up thereafter in Mexico differing as to whether the surface rights were absolute or whether "a right was only a faculty that did not become a vested right except by its being exercised through the discovery and seizure of the mineral." The author urges the latter interpretation. He accordingly defends the Mexican constitution of 1917 which nationalized "without reservations all petroleum lying in a natural state in the national subsoil." He attacks the Bucareli Agreements because they included a pact between Mexico and the United States by which the Mexican government agreed that this constitution was not to be "retroactive in respect to all persons who have performed, prior to the promulgation of said constitution, some positive act which would manifest the intention of the owner of the surface, or of the persons entitled, to exercise his rights to the oil under the surface," and granted "preferential rights to all owners of the surface," even though they had not performed any such positive act. He endeavors to show that the agreements are contrary to international law.

There is no question but that the author knows philosophy and jurisprudence. There is much truth to many of his conclusions. But he has needlessly prejudiced his case with American readers by an intemperate choice of language which is hardly a suitable instrument for scholarship, however appropriate it may be for other purposes. Even if such extenuating circumstances as intense personal emotion, burning patriotism, and the natural ornateness of the Spanish language are taken into consideration, still invective in discussing such intricate institutions as the Monroe Doctrine, Pan-Americanism, the various claims commissions, and the overlordship of the United States in the western hemisphere, tends to defeat the very purpose for which the work was purportedly translated. The intemperate style has destroyed any propaganda value which the work might otherwise have had.

The book is illuminating in so far as it discloses a preference for an authoritarian treatment of Mexico by the United States, rather than the traditional appeasement approach of sugar-coated Yankee diplomacy. It is an interesting document, a real contribution to the literature of international law. It enables the American better to grasp the psychology of those south of the Rio Grande. (BRENDAN F. BROWN)

RYAN, JOHN K. *Modern War and Basic Ethics.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. Pp. ix, 142. $1.75.) The title accurately reflects the subject matter of this work: a restatement of the unchanging ethical principles regarding war in general; an examination of the nature, scope, and conditions of modern war; and a moral judgment upon the lawfulness of present-day aggressive war. The author has conscientiously applied himself to these three points.

Professor Ryan in the beginning makes an observation frequently overlooked. It is that wars of self-defense were almost implicitly understood to be lawful by the classical theologians. They concentrated upon the problem of aggressive war—war ostensibly waged to punish an offending nation for a wrong done and unamended. An aggressive war therefore is not always and at all times an unjust war. The difficulty, of course, lies in determining just when one is faced with an act of aggression and not simply an act of self-defense. Anyone today knows that frequently enough, if a nation waits until it is directly attacked before assailing the foe, the chances are serious against its survival. Ask the leaders of the small nations in Europe.

Modern war is threefold in character: military, economic, and psychological. The author concentrates upon the first trait, but this is sufficient for him to prove to the hilt the enormity of the physical evils of modern warfare. No one can seriously question his conclusion that "modern aggressive war . . . cannot be justified in the light of the traditional Catholic ethic of war." His reason, briefly, is that the evil far outweighs the good.

But where does that conclusion leave us today? Conscientious objectors will quote the book to bear out their contention that our entrance into the present conflict (an aggressive act for them) is immoral. Others will argue—and the reviewer believes with much better reason—that the work should have been expressed to Hitler before he started his mighty engines of war rolling. This work can have no meaning to those nations now fighting with their backs to the wall against forces of destruction, and little meaning to other nations (like our own) still somewhat apathetic to a world revolution. Perhaps in some future post-war period when we begin again the work of permanent peace we can use the volume with profit. (FRANCIS E. McMAHON)

RYAN, GRANGER, AND HELMUT RIPPERGER, (Eds.). *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine.* Part I. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1941. Pp. xxii, 356. $3.00.) The significance of *The Golden Legend* for an understanding of the religious and artistic spirit of the Middle Ages is generally appreciated today by mediaevalists. A new English version cannot, therefore, but be a welcome addition to the growing list of translations of mediaeval sources. Its translators and editors make no pretense of establishing a definitive edition. "In fact, the whole aim of this translation has been to make the *Legend* available in an accessible and easily readable form. Thus we offer it as an adaptation, although deletions are few, and changes in the text still fewer" (p. xvi). Part I of this version covers the liturgical year from the beginning of Advent to June 30. Part II, which is to follow, will complete the cycle of the ecclesiastical year. The translation is based on the Leipzig edition of 1850 of Th. Graesse's Latin edition. Other versions were also used, but none of the English ones. The translation is admirable. It reads more smoothly than most English versions of mediaeval sources. The Foreword (pp. x-xvi) which introduces the reader to mediaeval hagiography in general, and more specifically to Jacobus de Voragine and his *Golden Legend,* is brief but good. Neither the *loci* of the text omissions and alterations nor those of citations in the Foreword are indicated. There is, however, an adequate index. (VICTOR GELLHAUS)

SARGENT, DANIEL. *Christopher Columbus.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1941. Pp. vii, 214. $2.50.) Mr. Sargent wrote this latest account of Columbus and the discovery of America for the general reader who is unaware of the numerous problems connected with the name and achievement of the Genoese navigator and who does not want to be bothered with a discussion of these problems. For this reason the present volume will have a wider appeal than if its author had clogged the well written narrative with a critical investigation of the relative merits of the contraverted points in the career of Columbus. Such points, if considered at all in a critical way, Mr. Sargent relegates to the comparatively meager notes in the rear of the volume. Perhaps this procedure was wise from the literary standpoint, the one from which Mr. Sargent evidently treated his theme. It will not satisfy the critical historian, however, especially when he detects the general tendency of the author either to smooth over or to disregard entirely certain matters that cast a shadow on the memory of Columbus.

A case in point—a very important one—is the illicit relation that existed temporarily between Columbus and Beatrice. Mr. Sargent misinforms the reader when throughout the text of the volume he calls Beatrice Enríquez de Harana the "wife" of Columbus. Chances are that the reader will neglect to consult the note (p. 208, note 38) in which this matter is briefly discussed. Mr. Sargent is in error when he states in this note that "the illegality of the union" between Columbus and Beatrice has not been proved. His own citation from the last testament of Columbus is as strong a proof as could be expected in a matter of this kind (p. 202). Other proofs, equally strong and conclusive, are adduced by José de la Torre y del Cerra in his critical and impartial study of the question, entitled *Beatriz Enríquez de Harana y Cristobol Colon* (Madrid, 1933, pp. 21-26). The attack on this work by the Italian Franciscan, Francesco Maria Paolini, in his *Cristoforo Colombo nella sua vita morale* (Livorno, 1938) is an unsuccessful attempt to erase this blot from the life of Columbus. Naturally, like Mr. Sargent and others, we would much prefer the blot were not there. Mr. Sargent's "personal opinion" as to what "the ecclesiastical courts" would have told Columbus in 1490 is entirely gratuitous; nor to investigate "the moral question" involved, the only one that concerned the courts, would anyone have to "feel omniscient," as Mr. Sargent intimates. The question is easily solved. Columbus was not married in 1490; wherefore, despite his illicit relation with Beatrice, he was free "to marry someone else" if he had so desired. (Francis Borgia Steck)

Sforza, Count Carlo. *The Totalitarian War and After.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1941. Pp. x, 120. $1.25.) The phrase *multum in parvo* perhaps best describes these three lectures by the former foreign minister of Italy, who here aims "to give a sympathetic impression of such a tremendous problem as the origins of the second World War, of what is at stake in Europe, and of the hopes for a better future" (p. vii); these aims he has achieved with remarkable success. The 117 pages of text are replete with interesting sidelights on most of the major actors in the tragedy of Europe and of the world—Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Beneš, Masaryk, Daladier, Weygand, and others. There are tales of intrigue, of naïveté, of stupidity, of treason, and of patriotism. The curtain is drawn aside on the personalities of countries as well as on those of statesmen: of Czechoslovakia, for instance, "an almost perfect democracy"; of France, whose people "will never turn dictatorial"; of Germany, where existed appalling graft and corruption in the pre-Hitlerian era, a factor that serves at least partially to explain the enigma of the Fuehrer's rapid and unimpeded rise to supreme power.

Count Sforza reminds his readers of a fact too frequently forgotten or overlooked, namely, that peace is not the mere absence of war, that it is not to be attained simply by the refusal to fight, but that it is something active, to be brought about by continual, positive, and constructive diplomatic effort. There are strong indictments here too of isolationism as well as of Communism, Fascism, and Naziism. The deep pathos of the events and incidents described, however, does not drown out the note of hope sounded throughout this little book, hope for a British victory in the present struggle, for a British victory will mean the preservation of liberty, and ". . . liberty remains the best light and hope for a better world" (p. 117). (George L. Kane)

Shiels, W. Eugene, S.J. *History of Europe. A Summary Text for College Freshmen.* (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1941. Pp. xvi, 383. $2.00.) This volume, whose character is adequately indicated in the full title, is written from a distinctive pedagogical viewpoint. It is intended to serve as an outline or glorified syllabus of general European history or civilization. A product of successful classroom experience, it aims both at eliminating the disadvantages inherent in the use of a single bulky textbook and at combining stimulating instructional technique and a fairly wide range of outside readings. The teaching method on which it is based is clearly and invitingly set forth in the Preface.

From the first on "The Scope and Meaning of the History of Europe" to the sixty-ninth and last on "Europe and the World," brief chapters cover the rise, growth, vicissitudes, and spread of European civilization. Planned for a two-semester course, the volume is about evenly divided between the modern and earlier period, the dividing line falling in the sixteenth century. Seven chapters deal with the forerunners of European civilization, and with Greece and Rome before the advent of Christianity, "the great new force in history." Each chapter is followed by required readings in the form of page-by-page references to four widely used histories of European civilization (to be used at the choice and convenience of instructor and library) and by a list of suggested readings. Useful maps are interspersed throughout the volume.

The first section of each chapter deals with the particular topic in a broad way. Thought-provoking generalizations are presented; the main developments are indicated; connections with preceding movements are stressed; student interest is stimulated. The second section thereupon proceeds to give some details of the principal aspects of the period or topic. Political and cultural developments receive balanced treatment. Religion and the Church, so much neglected by secular historians fascinated by liberalism and scientism, are placed in their proper perspective.

It is true that one can object to certain generalizations. Several characterizations will strike some as overstatements or understatements. Here and there an erroneous detail or date has found its way into the text. One may wonder why certain books have been included in the list of suggested readings and why certain others have been omitted. But the subjective element will never be completely eliminated from the writing of history, and a book without minor slips of any kind has perhaps yet to be written.

Written with clarity, insight, breadth of view, and an infectious enthusiasm, this textbook should be a valuable instrument in the hands of college instructors. Above all, however, it will enable students to perceive and appreciate not only the importance and unity, but the *meaning* of history and of civilization. (Thomas R. Hanley)

Souza Campos, Ernesto de. *Educação superior no Brasil.* (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Ministério da Educação. 1940. Pp. 611. *Milréis* 10$000.) Professor Souza Campos is widely known in the field of Brazilian higher education. Formerly director of the Faculty of Medicine of São Paulo, one of the best institutions of its kind in South America, he is partly responsible for the development of a school which has been favored with the financial support of the Rockefeller Foundation. During his term of office as director of the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters, and Sciences of São Paulo, many eminent foreign scholars, among them Dr. Fidelino de Figueiredo, were contracted to teach under his supervision. As the result of his varied experience, Professor Souza Campos has been frequently called upon to help solve problems of university administration in Brazil. He is at present a member of the committee entrusted with the drawing up of plans for a new campus, in the American manner, for the university which now functions in the city of Rio de Janeiro.

In his book, the author has gathered together a storehouse of information bearing directly or indirectly on the beginnings, growth, and actual state of higher education in all parts of Brazil. Chapter I is largely concerned with the sixteenth century. The Jesuit system is here touched upon and courses which led to the degree of bachelor of arts are described. The remainder of the chapter deals with Jesuit expeditions, sixteenth century writers on Brazil, and missionary expeditions from Lisbon to Brazil. Chapter II is devoted to the seventeenth century; Chapter III, to Brazil's active intellectual and educational life in the eighteenth century. The fourth chapter takes up the story during the nineteenth century, discussing such subjects as Dom João VI, the French artistic mission, foreign scientists and scientific missions, Dom Pedro I, the regency, and Dom Pedro II. Chapter V discusses the several attempts made during Brazil's long history to create a university (as opposed to institutes or schools of higher learning) in the country. The last five chapters (VI-X) concern problems of university administration.

This is definitely a pioneer work, and students interested in the development of education in Brazil will welcome it as the most complete account of the subject thus far published. One hardly needs to say that the work might have been better. It does not strike the reviewer as being well digested or put together; it suffers from a lack of compression. But the author was forced to do most of the spade work himself, and he may therefore be partially excused from the faults which in these respects the volume contains. It is not the sort of book that will be read at one, or even three or four, sittings; rather will the student want to have it on his work desk, to dip into it many times for bits of information which would not otherwise be so easily available. (MANOEL S. CARDOZO)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

A Psychological Approach to World History. Anastasia Furman (*Social Studies*, Oct.).

Henry Adams's Philosophy of History. James Stone (*New England Quart.*, Sept.).

The Historian's Dilemma. Roy F. Nichols (*Proceedings of the Middle States Assoc. of Hist. and Soc. Science Teachers, 1940-1941*, Vol. 38, No. 1).

Causation in Historical Events. F. J. E. Teggart (*Journal of the Hist. of Ideas*, Jan.).

Causation and its Application to History. Morris R. Cohen (*ibid.*).

Causal Analysis in History. Maurice Mandelbaum (*ibid.*).

The Leadership Principle in National Socialism. M. Margaret Ball (*ibid.*).

What Should Our Historical Society Do? Edward P. Alexander (*Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History*, Oct.).

The Value of Regional Literature. Frank J. Klingberg (*Histor. Mag. of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Dec.).

The Relations between History and Geography. Jan O. M. Broek (*Pacific Histor. Rev.*, Sept.).

The New Vatican Library. Angela Jane Curry (*Catholic Digest*, Nov., condensed from *Extension*, Oct.).

The Moral Bases of International Law. Herbert Wright (*Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Soc. of Internat. Law*, April, 1941).

Law and Religion in the Ancient World as Illustrated in the Bible. James A. Montgomery (*Anglican Theolog. Rev.*, Oct.).

The Conflict of Early Christianity with the Jewish Temple Worship. The Dependence of the Liturgy of Israel upon the Worship of the Gods of the Egyptians according to Theodoret and Chrysostom. Johannes Quasten (*Theolog. Studies*, Dec.).

Codex and Roll in the New Testament. C. C. McCown (*Harvard Theolog. Rev.*, Oct.).

The Western Church and Astrology during the Early Middle Ages. M. L. W. Laistner (*ibid.*).

St. Michael Defender in the Day of Battle. Michael Derrick (*Tablet*, Sept. 27).

Passages from the *Coutume de Bretagne*. E. B. Ham (*Speculum*, Oct.).

The Dates of Three Letters of Petrarch. E. H. Wilkins (*ibid.*).

The Date of John the Scot's *Annotationes in Marcianum*. Cornelia C. Coulter (*ibid.*).

A Note on the Vision of an English Prior. C. B. Judge (*ibid.*).

The Historical Background of *The King of Tars*. Lillian H. Hornstein (*ibid.*).

John Buridan on the Habitability of the Earth. E. A. Moody (*ibid.*).

The One Hundred and Three Names of Noah's Wife. F. L. Utley (*ibid.*).

The Tropology of Mediaeval Dedication Rites. Lee Bowen (*ibid.*).

Bishop Benno II of Osnabrück. E. N. Johnson (*ibid.*).

Some Legends concerning Eleanor of Aquitaine. F. M. Chambers (*ibid.*).

De Opere Lemoviceno. M. C. Ross (*ibid.*).

Economic Significance of the *Montes Pietatis*. Anscar Parsons, O.F.M.Cap. (*Franciscan Studies*, Sept.).

Cardinal Fisher and Duns Scotus. Ladislas Siekaniec, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

The Cult of the Mother of God in the Byzantine Liturgy. Cuthbert Gumbinger, O.F.M.Cap. (*ibid.*).

Scotistic Bibliography of the Last Decade (1929-1939). Part III. Maurice Grajewski, O.F.M. (*ibid.*).

Student Life in the Medieval Universities. Ellen Perry Pride (*Social Studies*, Oct.).

The Problem of Nationalities and the Future Peace. Guido Zernatto (*Thought*, Sept.).

Saint Thomas Aquinas and Popular Sovereignty. Wilfrid Parsons (*ibid.*).

Is State Sovereignty Doomed? J. C. Fehr (*ibid.*).

Meaning of the Renaissance. W. W. J. Wilkinson (*ibid.*).

Father Peter Wadding, S.J. Paul O'Dea (*Studies*, Sept.).

Suarez on the Temporal Power of the Pope. R. V. Schoder (*ibid.*).

The Decline of Liberalism. Walter James (*Nineteenth Century and After*, Dec.).

EUROPEAN

French Interest in the Spanish Empire during the Ministry of the Duc de Choiseul, 1759-1771. Allan Christelow (*Hispanic American Histor. Rev.*, Nov.).

Metternich's Attitude toward Revolutions in Latin America. William Spence Robertson (*ibid.*).

Spanish-Mexican Diplomatic Relations, 1853-1855 (*ibid.*).

The Venerable Mother Mary of the Incarnation. Helmut A. Hatzfeld (*Ecclesiastical Rev.*, Oct.).

The Beloved Mendicant: Moments from the Life of God's Beggar and Builder, Father Francis Koch, O.F.M. (1843-1920). Benjamin Francis Musser (*Provincial Annals*, Province of the Most Holy Name, O.F.M., Oct.).

Italian Colonial Policy and Problems. James Meenan (*Studies*, Sept.).

The Dollfuss Regime [concluded]. Benjamin Blied (*Social Justice Review*, Oct.).

What Was Jugoslavia. Max Fischer (*Commonweal*, Nov. 14).

The Key Position of Europe: The Need of a Danubian Federation. Karl Traisner (*Cath. World*, Oct.).

A Czech Plan for a Danubian Federation (1884). Otakar Odložilík (*Journal of Central European Affairs*, Oct.).

Czech and German: Action, Reaction and Interaction. S. Harrison Thomson (*ibid.*).

Poland's Eastern Frontiers, (981-1939). Part II. Oscar Halecki (*ibid.*).

The Greek Mission of the Episcopal Church, 1828-1899. Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr. (*Histor. Mag. of the Prot. Epis. Church*, Sept.).

Religion in the Soviet Union. Serge Bolshakoff (*Month*, Sept.).

Nietzsche versus Hitler. F. C. Copleston (*ibid.*).

BRITISH EMPIRE

Makers of the Common Law. Richard O'Sullivan (*Tablet*, Oct. 4).

Constitutional Balance in Medieval England. *Idem* (*ibid.*, Oct. 11).

Pays de Galles: foyer d'une ancienne culture. Mina-J. Moore (*Le Canada Français*, Dec.).

Gildas Sapiens. C. E. Stevens (*English Histor. Rev.*, July).

The Jury of Presentment and the Assize of Clarendon. Naomi D. Hurnard (*ibid.*).

The Interpretation of the Statute of York, 1322. Part II. Gaillard Lapsley (*ibid.*).

The Chapel of St. Louis, Greyfriars, London. Hilda Johnstone (*ibid.*).

The Oath of Bromholm [made by Henry III]. F. M. Powicke (*English Histor. Review,* Oct.).

The Forms and Machinery of the 'Commune Petition' in the Fourteenth Century. Part II. Doris Rayner (*ibid.*).

The Scots College, Douai, 1580-1613. Hubert Chadwick, S.J. (*ibid.*).

The Financial System of Rochester Cathedral Priory. R. A. L. Smith (*ibid.*).

The Schools of Northampton in the Twelfth Century. H. G. Richardson (*ibid.*).

A Source for Fitzherbert's 'La Graunde Abridgment.' R. V. Rogers (*ibid.*).

The Foreign Policy of Richard II in 1397: Some Italian Letters. D. M. Bueno de Mesquita (*ibid.*).

The Use of Irish Secret Service Money in Subsidising the Irish Press. A. Aspinall (*ibid.*).

Statute of York and Community of the Realm. J. R. Strayer (*Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Oct.).

Did Russia Intervene after the Execution of Charles I? Leo Loewenson (*Bulletin of the Institute of Histor. Research,* May).

The Protestant Wind: Some Aspects of the Revolution of 1688. Brian Magee (*Month,* July).

A War Prophecy [Giulio Mancinelli, S.J., 1537-1618]. J. H. Crehan (*ibid.*).

Origin of Modern Irish Nationalism. Michael Tierney (*Studies,* Sept.).

Blessed Oliver Plunkett and Jesuit Schools. T. Corcoran (*ibid.*).

AMERICAN

The Turner Thesis: Criticisms and Defense. R. L. Lokken (*Social Studies,* Dec.).

The Tradition of Liberty in England and America. Stanley Pargellis (*Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Oct.).

The Development of the Separation of the Church and State in the United States of America [cont.]. John Joseph Graham (*Records of the Amer. Cath. Histor. Soc.*, June).

Missionary Influence upon American Far Eastern Policy. John W. Masland (*Pacific Histor. Rev.*, Sept.).

They Renovate History [Preservation of Documents in the National Archives]. Al Laughrey (*Columbia,* Nov.).

The Portraits of Saint Memin [profile miniatures, done from life, of men and women celebrated in history from 1794-1814]. Linus Dooley (*ibid.*).

The Sulpician Anniversaries. John K. Cartwright (*Catholic World,* Nov.).

The True Pioneer in Social Reform [Pope Pius IX]. Lawrence Sullivan (*ibid.*).

St. Sulpice: 1641-1941. Philip Hughes (*Tablet,* Nov. 15).

Mother Elizabeth Seton. Joseph B. Code (*Studies,* Sept.).

Solomon Stoddard, 1643-1729. Perry Miller (*Harvard Theolog. Rev.*, Oct.).

Early Hymnody of the American Episcopal Church. Charles Winfred Douglas (*Histor. Mag. of Prot. Epis. Church,* Sept.).

Anglican Beginnings in Massachusetts. Edgar Legare Pennington (*ibid.*).

Early Missionaries of the Episcopal Church in Texas, with Documents Illustrative of Richard Salmon's Church Colony. Andrew Forest Muir (*ibid.*).

Father Huntington and the Beginnings of Religious Orders for Men in the Episcopal Church. James Arthur Miller (*ibid., Dec.*).

The Knights of the Golden Circle. Ollinger Crenshaw (*Amer. Histor. Rev.,* Oct.).

The Old Catholics in America [Activities in the Belgian Settlement in Wisconsin]. Joseph Marx and Benjamin Blied (*Salesianum,* Oct.).

A Frenchman Visits Philadelphia in 1851 [Jean-Jacques Ampère]. Bertha Ruth Leaman (*Pennsylvania Hist., Oct.*).

Penn vs. Lord Baltimore: A Brief for the Penns. J. Carroll Hayes (*ibid.*).

Early Navigation on Fox and Wolf Rivers and Lake Winnebago. W. A. Titus (*Wisconsin Mag. of Hist.*, Sept.).

Hudson's Bay Company Posts in the Minnesota Country. Grace Lee Nute (*Minnesota Hist.*, Sept.).

Rev. Simon Saenderl, C.Ss.R., Indian Missionary [cont.] John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap. (*Social Justice Rev.*, Oct. and Nov.).

Non-Economic Factors in the Frontier Movement. Gilbert J. Garraghan (*Mid-America*, Oct.).

Tómas de Guadalajara, Missionary of the Tarahumares. Peter M. Dunne, S.J. (*ibid.*).

Penicaut and his Chronicle of Early Louisiana. Elizabeth McCann (*ibid.*).

Patterns of Mid-Nineteenth Century Urbanization in the Middle West. Bayrd Still (*Mississippi Valley Histor. Rev.*, Sept.).

Ohio Medical History of the Period, 1835-1858: Some Bibliographical and Research Aids to American Medical History. Philip D. Jordan (*Ohio State Archaeological and Histor. Quart.*, Oct.-Dec.).

Development of Nursing in Ohio. Anne L. Austin (*ibid.*).

The Early Life of Lew Wallace. Irving McKee (*Indiana Mag. of Hist.*, Sept.).

Jeremiah C. Sullivan, Hoosier Jurist. Joseph Herman Schauinger (*ibid.*).

Some Letters of Judge Jeremiah C. Sullivan. *Idem* (*ibid.*).

Catholicity in the South. The Most Rev. Richard Oliver Gerow (*Preservation of the Faith*, Oct.).

First Catholic Chaplains in the United States Army. Joseph T. Durkin (*Thought*, Sept.).

Chaplains of the House of Refuge, St. Louis [cont.]. Leo Kalmer, O.F.M. (*Annals of the Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart*, Nov.).

La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise. Arthur Maheux (*Le Canada Français*, Nov.).

Graduate Theses in Canadian History, and Related Subjects [a list]. (*Canadian Histor. Rev.*, Sept.).

Church and State: A Review of Recent Literature. W. Lyndon Smith (*ibid.*).

Past Historians and Present History in Canada. Gustave Lanctôt (*Canadian Histor. Rev.*, Sept.).

The Case of the Beardmore Relics: A Survey of the Evidence. O. C. Elliott (*ibid.*).

Further Comments Regarding the Beardmore Find. C. T. Currelly and O. C. Elliott (*ibid.*).

Prêtres séculiers et religieux qui ont exercé le ministère en Canada (1691-1699). Ivanhoë Caron (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, Oct.).

Testament de Mgr. de Pontbriand, évêque de Québec (*ibid.*).

Excavations at Old Fort Ste. Marie. Kenneth E. Kidd (*Martyr's Shrine Message*, Oct.).

Life at Fort Ste. Marie in 1641. James Shaw, S.J. (*ibid.*).

Garneau et le romantisme. Emile Bégin (*Le Canada Français*, Oct.).

Le portail de l'église des Récollets à Montréal. E. Z. Massicotte (*Le bulletin des recherches historiques*, Nov.).

Some Articles in Spanish American Historical Reviews, 1938-1940. Roland D. Hussey (*Pacific Histor. Rev.*, Sept.).

El concepto de la America Latina en la mentalidad del pueblo Norteamericano 1815-1823). Arthur Preston Whitaker (*Revista de la Universidad Catolica del Perú*, Sept.).

What is Hispanidad? Alfonso Junco (*Commonweal*, Oct. 10).

Antoine Leroux, New Mexico Guide. Grant Foreman (*New Mexico Histor. Rev.*, Oct.).

New Mexico's Fight for Statehood, 1895-1912 [cont.]. Marion Dargan (*ibid.*).

The Coronado-Bocanegra Family Alliance. Lansing B. Bloom (*ibid.*).

Santo Domingo [Indian town in Texas and the conversion of its occupants; based on unpublished sources], Part III. Angelico Chavez, O.F.M. (*Provincial Chronicle,* St. John Baptist Province, Fall).

Franciscan Missions among the Navajo Indians [cont.]. Emmanuel Trockur (*ibid.*).

Como fué celebrada la confirmación del patronato Guadalupano en 1756. Anon. (*Voz Guadalupana,* May, 1941)

Misioneros célebres: Fr. Fernando de Moraga (Siglos XVI–XVII), Misionero Trotamundos. Buenaventura Salazar, O.F.M. (*ibid.*, June).

Un catecismo poco conocido en Méjico: Contribución á la historia del catecismo. Jesús García Gutiérrez (*Christus,* Oct.).

La Virgen Santa Maria de Guadalupe y la Propagación de la Fe en México. *Idem* (*ibid.*, Dec.).

The Jesuits in British Guiana. H. S. De Caires (*Month,* Sept.).

Present Pressures in Chile and Peru. Watt Stewart (*Proceedings of the Middle States Assoc. of Hist. and Soc. Science Teachers, 1940-1941,* Vol. 38, No. 1).

Inter-American Relations: A New Course for the Secondary School. W. Harry Snyder (*ibid.*).

Church and State in Colombia as Observed by American Diplomats, 1834-1906. Carey Shaw, Jr. (*Hispanic American Histor. Rev.*, Nov.).

The Lost First Letter of Cortés. Henry R. Wagner (*ibid.*).

A Note on José Milla, Official Historian of Guatemala. John L. Martin (*ibid.*).

BOOKS RECEIVED

Attwater, Donald (Ed.), *A Catholic Dictionary*. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1941. Pp. xvi, 576. $1.98.) This very useful volume, originally published ten years ago, is now available in a low priced edition. Mr. Attwater as general editor has been assisted by eight other English Catholic scholars. It would be difficult to exaggerate the help this book gives to one seeking accurate thumb-nail sketches of important offices, institutions, laws, functions, and teachings of the Church. It deserves, and undoubtedly will have, a wide sale in this country among those who did not avail themselves of the higher priced edition when it originally appeared.

Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, *The Book of Saints*. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1941. Pp. xi, 328. $3.00.) This useful volume of sketches of over 9000 saints, compiled by the Benedictines of Ramsgate, has been reprinted from the third edition of 1934 with an appendix of additional names. The calendar of saints has been revised in accordance with the 1922 edition of the Roman Martyrology.

Benns, F. Lee, *Europe Since 1914*. 5th Ed. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1941. Pp. xvi, 998. $3.75) The fifth edition of Professor Benns' work gives additional material to cover the period since 1938 with bibliographical addenda.

Benns, F. Lee, *European History Since 1870*. 5th Ed. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1941. Pp. xviii, 1061. $4.50.) The fifth edition of this textbook includes the same changes as described for the volume listed above.

Biesele, Rudolph Leopold, *Workbook in American History*. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1941. Pp. 171. $1.10.) This outline of American history is intended for use with Professor Faulkner's *American Political and Social History*.

Bingham, Woodbridge, *The Founding of the T'Ang Dynasty. The Fall of Sui and Rise of T'Ang. A Preliminary Survey*. (Baltimore: Waverly Press Inc. 1941. Pp. xiv, 183. $3.50.) The American Council of Learned Societies here publishes No. 4 in its Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations. The volume contains six appendices, a bibliography, index, and three maps. This monograph on the seventh century Chinese ruler is written by the assistant professor of Far Eastern history in the University of California.

Boak, A. E. R., Albert Hyma, and Preston Slosson, *The Growth of European Civilization*. 2nd Ed. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1941. Pp. xxv, 638. $4.50.) This second edition of the well known textbook for survey courses in European civilization has corrected a number of slips which occurred in the first edition and has an additional chapter covering events from 1938 to July, 1941. The attractive features which were noted in the original edition have been retained and Catholic readers will be grateful to see a few of the inaccuracies concerning the Church revised or omitted entirely. However, the authors still confuse the secular and regular clergy, and the error of "adoration" of the saints (I, 476) still appears.

Boland, Francis J., C.S.C. (Ed.), *The Popes and Christian Citizenship.* Christian Democracy Series, No. 5. (New York: Paulist Press. 1941. Pp. 36. 5c.)

Dunney, Joseph A., *The Mass.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1914. Pp. viii, 375. $1.25.)

Graves, W. Brooke, *American State Government.* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 1941. Pp. xv, 944. $4.00.) This is a revised edition of the textbook of Professor Graves which appeared originally in 1936.

Haile, Bernard, O.F.M., *Learning Navaho.* Vol. I (St. Michaels, Arizona: St. Michaels Press. 1941. Pp. viii, 184. $3.00.)

Hayes, John M., *Designs for Social Action.* Social Action Series No. 20. (New York: Paulist Press. 1941. Pp. 32. 5c.)

Holcombe, Arthur N., *Dependent Areas in the Post-War World.* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1941. Pp. 108. Cloth 50c.; paper 25c.) This little work is a new volume in the America Looks Ahead Pamphlet Series written by a professor of government at Harvard.

Ker, N. R., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. A List of Surviving Books.* (London: Royal Historical Society. 1941. Pp. xxiii, 169. 7/6.)

Kisch, Guido, *Sachsenspiegel and Bible.* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 198.)

Kunkel, Paul A., *The Theatines in the History of Catholic Reform before the Establishment of Lutheranism.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 184.)

Lane, J. Robert, F.S.C., *A Political History of Connecticut during the Civil War.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1941. Pp. x, 321.)

Marinoff, Irene, *The Heresy of National Socialism.* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. 1941. Pp. 159. 3s paper; 4s 6d cloth.) Miss Marinoff here examines the leading doctrines of National Socialism against a background of Catholic teaching. The Foreword is contributed by the editor of the Present Problems Series to which the volume belongs, Archbishop Downey of Liverpool.

Marx, Walter John, *Mechanization and Culture. The Social and Cultural Implications of a Mechanized Society.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1941. Pp. vii, 243. $2.00.)

The Mass Year, A Liturgical Almanac, 1942. (St. Meinrad, Ind.: Abbey Press. 1941. Pp. 127. 25c.)

Messner, Monsignor J., *Man's Suffering and God's Love.* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. 1941. Pp. 126. 2s paper; 3s 6d cloth.) Monsignor Messner here adds another brochure to the Present Problems Series. It has been translated by Sheila Wheatley and contains a Foreword by the Most Reverend Richard Downey, Archbishop of Liverpool.

Mock, James R., *Censorship 1917.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 250. $2.50.) In twelve well written chapters, based on reports of various governmental boards and departments, upon court records, newspapers, magazines, etc., a successful effort has been made to present a complete report of the censorship associated with our participation in the First World War. The complications naturally arising from censorship in the various forms are clearly and objectively treated. The notes on the sources used make it evident that this is perhaps the most factual book prepared to date on this subject.

O'Donnell, Charles, (Ed.), *The World Society. A Joint Report.* (New York: Paulist Press. 1941. Pp. 48. 10c.)

O'Laughlin, John M., (Ed.), *Supplement to a Reading List for Catholics.* (Scranton, Pennsylvania: Catholic Library Association. 1941. Pp. 35. 15c.) The present book list edited by the assistant librarian of Boston College is a supplement to the *Reading List for Catholics* published in 1940. It has been prepared for the National Catholic Book Week of which Charles L. Higgins of the Boston Public Library is chairman. The list is a useful one for the general reader, though one might wish that the notes given on a few of the items had been more critical.

Poppy, Fr. Maximus, O.F.M., (Ed.), *The Fruitful Ideal. A Factual Survey of the Three Orders of St. Francis in the United States.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1941. Pp. 111. Cloth $1.50; Paper $1.00.) The secretary of the National Executive Board of the Third Order of St. Francis has here compiled a very handy directory of the houses and societies of all three major branches of the Franciscan family.

Poppy, Fr. Maximus, O.F.M., (Ed.), *The Franciscan Message in Authentic Texts.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1941. Pp. 67. 40c.) The present pamphlet is another edition of the Testament of St. Francis, with seven documents on the Third Order issued by successive pontiffs from Leo XIII to Pius XI.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. Semi-annual meeting held in Boston, April 17, 1940. (Worcester, Massachusetts: Published by the Society. 1941. Pp. 1-162. $1.50.) The first part of the Society's *Proceedings* contains besides a report of the Council and the customary obituary notices, the following articles: "Harvard College Library and the Libraries of the Mathers" by Henry Joel Cadbury; "The Lexington Alarm" by John H. Scheide; "Those Human Puritans" by Henry Andrew Wright; "Nathaniel Evans—Some Notes on His Ministry" by Edgar Legare Pennington; "David Claypoole Johnston, 'The American Cruikshank'" by Clarence S. Brigham, "The Berkshire Republican Library at Stockbridge, 1794-1818" by Harry Miller Lydenberg.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society. Annual meeting held in Worcester, October 16, 1940. Vol. 50, Part 2. (Worcester, Massachusetts: Published by the Society. 1941. Pp. 161-334, i-xxvii. $1.50.) The second part of Volume 50 of the Society's *Proceedings* contains the usual reports of the Council, Treasurer, and Director together with two articles, "Jean Lafitte in the War of 1812" by Edward Alexander Parsons, and "John Watson, Painter, Merchant, and Capitalist of New Jersey" by John Hill Morgan. The issue also contains an index of Volume 50 and a list of the Society's members.

Raisty, Lloyd B., *Municipal Government and Administration in Georgia.* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press. 1941. Pp. xvi, 316.) This volume constitutes Monograph No. 3 of the Institute for the Study of Georgia Problems. The author is Professor of Public Administration in the University of Georgia.

Riddell, R. G., (Ed.), *The Canadian Historical Association.* Report of the Annual Meeting held at Kingston, May 22-24, 1941. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1941. Pp. 104.) This annual report contains seven papers read at the annual meetings, a summary of several roundtable discussions, and the annual reports of the Secretary and of the Treasurer of the Association.

Robbins, Roy M., *Our Landed Heritage, The Public Domain, 1776-1936.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. x, 450. $5.00.)

Rosalia, Sister Mary, *One Inch of Splendor.* (New York: Field Afar Press. 1941. Pp. 90. $1.00.) This little memoir of experiences on the Chinese mission by a Maryknoll Sister is an interesting and intimate account of the relations of the author with her Chinese charges. It is furnished with designs by Joseph Notarpole and has splendid illustrations.

Ryan, Thomas F., S.J., *China Through Catholic Eyes* (Hong Kong: Catholic Truth Society of Hong Kong. 1941. Pp. 80. $1.50.) This richly illustrated volume will do much to acquaint American Catholics with facts and aspects of China's extensive history. It is divided into two sections: The Land and the People and The Catholic Church in China. The line drawings are by Wong Wing Kit and the Preface was written by Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, wife of the generalissimo. The proceeds from its sale will be used for the Catholic missions in China and copies of it can be secured in this country by addressing Crusade Castle, Linwood Station, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Setzler, Frank M., and Jesse D. Jennings. *Peachtree Mound and Village Site, Cherokee County North Carolina. With Appendix of Skeletal Remains from the Peachtree Site, North Carolina* by T. D. Stewart. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1941. Pp. ix, 103. 40c.) This is Bulletin 131 of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution.

Shepperson, Sister M. Fides, *The Life of St. Francis of Assisi in Silhouettes.* (Albany, New York: American Humane Association. 1939. Pp. 66.)

Sieber, Sylvester A., S.V.D., and Franz H. Mueller, M.C.S., Dr. rer. pol. *The Social Life of Primitive Man.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1941. Pp. xiii, 566. $3.50.) This volume is an addition to the Social Studies College Series edited by Franz Mueller, Eugene A. Cullinane, and Walter J. Marx.

Schmiedeler, Edgar, O.S.B., *Vanishing Homesteads.* Social Action Series, No. 21. (New York: Paulist Press. 1941. Pp. 32. 5c.)

Stevens, Sylvester K., Donald H. Kent, and Emma Edith Woods, (Eds.), *Travels in New France* by J.C.B. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1941. Pp. xiv, 167.)

Vanoverbergh, Morice, C.I.C.M., *The Isneg Farmer.* (Washington: Catholic Anthropological Conference. 1941. Pp. 281-386. $1.50.) The present work is No. 4 of Vol. III of the Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference.

Webb, Dom Bruno, *Why Does God Permit Evil?* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. 1941. Pp. 128. 2s paper; 3s 6d cloth.) A little volume written by a monk of Prinknash Abbey to which Archbishop Downey of Liverpool writes the Foreword. It is one of the Present Problems Series.

Wesley, Edgar Bruce, *Reading Guide for Social Studies Teachers.* Bulletin No. 17 National Council for the Social Studies. (Washington: National Council for the Social Studies. 1941. Pp. 152. 50c.) A list of books in the Social Sciences compiled by Professor Wesley of the University of Minnesota and intended for teachers and libraries.

Whale, J. S., D.D., *Christian Doctrine.* (New York: Macmillan Co.; Cambridge: At the University Press. 1941. Pp. 196. $2.00.)